The UNESCO Courier

A window open on the world

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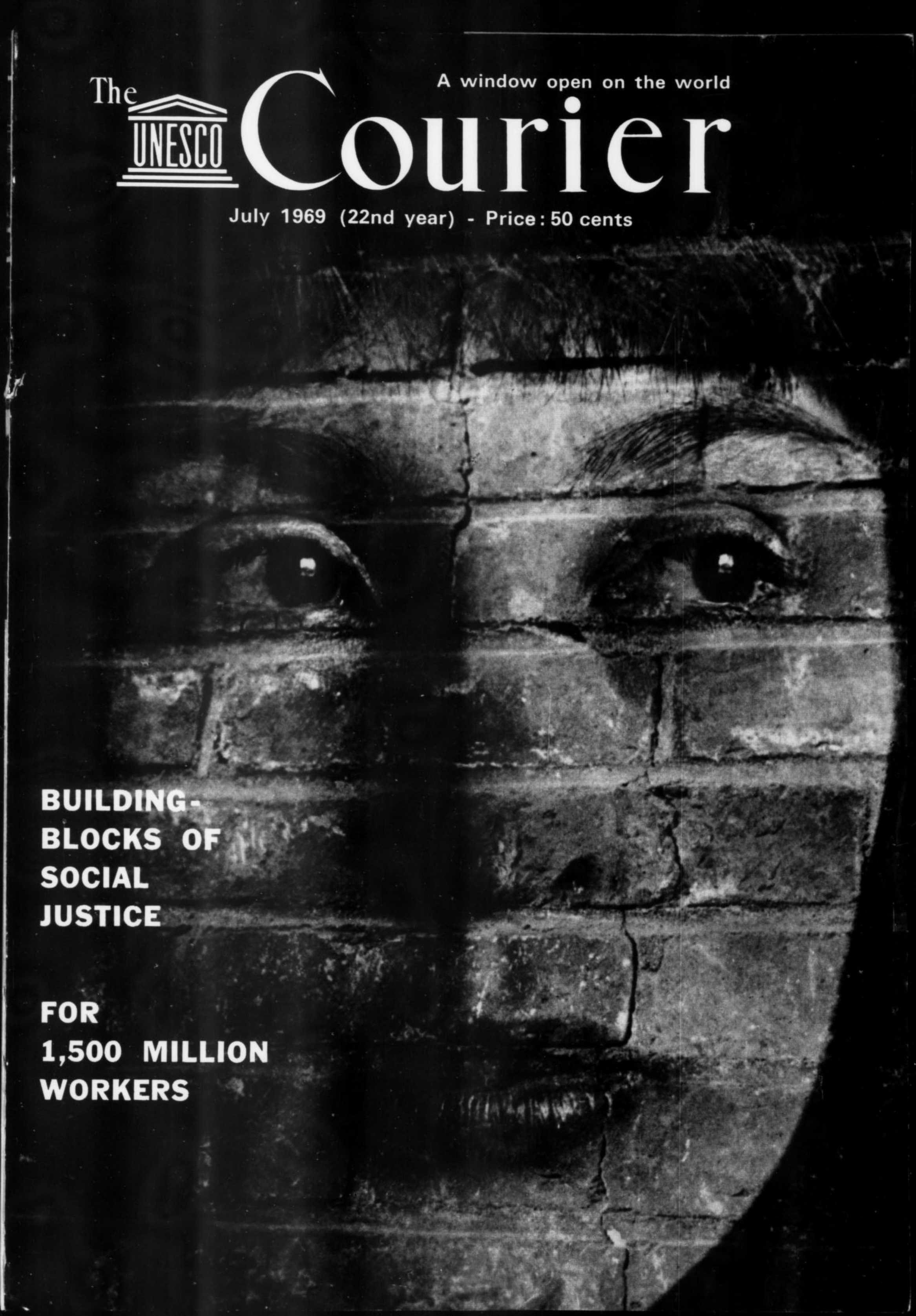

BUILDING-BLOCKS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

FOR 1,500 MILLION WORKERS

TREASURES OF WORLD ART

36

Water-carrying centaur

Man has always fashioned noble recipients for water as the remains of all ancient civilizations testify. Medieval artists and craftsmen and those of the Renaissance (including Benvenuto Cellini, the famous Italian sculptor) perpetuated the tradition with aquamaniles (religious or secular water vessels for washing one's hands) that were exquisite examples of sculpture and metalwork. Aquamaniles were often given the form of a horse, a rider or a fabulous animal such as this centaur (a creature of Greek mythology, half man, half horse) on whose back stands a boy flutist. A 13th century work of engraved bronze, it was discovered in Hungary.

Photo Hungarian National Museum, Budapest

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Page

4	**THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION 50th ANNIVERSARY** Building international foundations for true human rights in worl *By Gian Franco Pompei*
8	**A WORLD EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMME** Changing the pattern of the world's jobs and skills *By David A. Morse*
13	**'LA PARTICIPATION'** The new language of labour-management relations
19	**SAFETY AND HEALTH ON THE JOB**
20	**PEOPLE NO LONGER MACHINES IN LABOUR RELATIONS** *By Jean de Givry*
25	**REAL AND PSEUDO PROBLEMS OF THE WORKING WOMAN** *By Pierrette Sartin*
29	**THE INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION OF WORKERS** A smouldering issue of our times *By Pieter Kuin*
32	**UNEMPLOYMENT OR EXILE** Is there a third choice for the migrant worker? *By Samuel Parmar*
2	**TREASURES OF WORLD ART** Water-carrying centaur (Hungary)

Cover photo

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the International Labour Organization, the "Unesco Courier" devotes this issue to the world of labour—the world of 1,500 million working men and women all over the globe. Our articles tell the story of the international efforts during the past 50 years to achieve greater social justice for working people through the ILO, and examine some of the major problems that now face our modern changing society. Our cover symbolizes the new working women of today against a background of building bricks (see page 25).

Photo © Jean Suquet - Snark International

ILO 50th Anniversary

BUILDING THE INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATIONS FOR TRUE HUMAN RIGHTS IN WORK

Photo © Bruno Barbey - Magnum, Paris

by Gian Franco Pompei

Chairman of the Unesco Executive Board

WE are in the year 1919. The world has just been ravaged by a war, the like of which had never been known before, but less than three months after the armistice, men were beginning to look to the future.

On January 25, the Paris Peace Conference decided at its first session to appoint a Commission on International Labour Legislation, composed of fifteen members, whose task was to make a survey of labour conditions, study the international measures needed to ensure joint action on questions concerning labour conditions, and make proposals for setting up a permanent organization to carry out these studies and surveys in collaboration with the League of Nations and under its supervision.

The Commission, under its chairman Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labour, took as the basis for its discussions a British project for creating a permanent Labour Organization as part of the League of Nations.

While it was meeting, the Commission learned that the International Trade Union Conference meeting in Berne, had adopted a Labour Charter setting forth a number of general principles on international labour legislation.

It drew inspiration from the Charter in preparing the text which was submitted to the Peace Conference and adopted on April 11, with a few minor amendments. This text, divided into two parts—one concerning the International Labour Organization and the other dealing with general principles—became part of the Treaty of Versailles.

Such were the modest beginnings of the ILO.

It was this vision of a better, more humane world which enabled the ILO to survive the dark years before and during the Second World War, and which gave it a new lease of life in 1944, with the adoption of the Declaration of Philadelphia which, President Roosevelt said, "embodies the hopes of an era which has known two world wars . . . it may one day exercise an influence equal to that of the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America."

Strengthened in its motivations and in its principles, the ILO was thus in a position to assist in the reconstruction of the post-war world. With this end in view, in 1946 it amended its Constitution and concluded the Agreement which established it as a Specialized Agency of the United Nations.

Firstly, on the organizational level, the ILO has played a major rôle in the genesis of the modern concept of balanced economic and social development, one of the fundamental aims of all the organizations of the United Nations family.

This dynamic concept, radically opposed to the static approach of the 19th century, is the basis of the principles of social progress set forth in the preamble to the ILO Constitution. These principles are even more clearly expressed in the Declaration of Philadelphia, which states on the one hand that social progress is the result of economic progress, whose fruits must be equitably shared; and on the other hand, that social progress must be based on a world policy which excludes economic advantages obtained at the expense of the conditions of workers.

THE ideas of the founders of the ILO were revolutionary for, in those early days when governments and peoples lived in constant fear of recessions and economic crises, which seemed unavoidable, they were imbued not with Utopian dreams but with the vision of a world where steady and continuous growth would be a reality.

Secondly, while the ultimate aim of social justice proclaimed in the ILO Constitution expressed the aspirations of a world conscience sharpened by the privations and sufferings of the war years, it also constituted a major innovation in international life.

Those who strove, in 1919, to translate the ideal into reality had few precedents on which to build: in all, two international conventions signed in Berne in 1906, one prohibiting the use of white phosphorous in the manufacture of matches and the other making the employment of women for night work illegal.

This was very little when one compares this embryo of international labour legislation with the impressive legal work the ILO has since accomplished.

But it was a great deal when one considers the obstacles which had to be overcome to achieve these first steps in drawing up a truly international code of labour legislation, which the ILO undertook on the initiative of its first Director-General, Albert Thomas. With unflagging energy, he devoted himself wholeheartedly to the task which was pursued and consolidated, year by year, at each session of the International Labour Conference.

From this painstaking effort, carried out pragmatically without any striving for spectacular results, has emerged the modern concept of human rights, a concept which in addition to the political rights proclaimed by the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen in 1789, affirms the economic and social rights set forth in 1948 in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is this concept which embodies the highest aspirations of mankind today. Here again, the ILO has broken new ground, making possible slow but steady progress towards the ultimate goal of social justice.

The new approach which characterized the Constitution of the ILO contains a third aspect which is unique of its kind. This is the tripartite structure of the Organization (comprising governments, workers and employers) which is reflected in the composition of the International Labour Conference and in the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

The formula proposed by the founders of the Organization seemed so self-evident that the only points at issue were how it should be applied. Should governments have a one-third representation and be on the same

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

On an equal footing: workers, employers, and governments

footing as workers and employers? Or should government representation equal the two other groups combined? The solution finally adopted was the second.

This structure clearly reveals the desire to ensure what we are accustomed to-day to call "participation." What, indeed, is the purpose of gathering together in the Organization's deliberating bodies, representatives of the three groups, each with its own particular interests—which may at times coincide—if not to ensure the effective participation of all three in the discussions and decisions which directly affect them?

Obviously the need for communication and dialogue, which we seem to have rediscovered only recently, was then considered vital for establishing that atmosphere of confidence without which the Organization would have laboured in vain.

This, perhaps, is the key to the success of the ILO in overcoming the difficulties and crises which are common to all young organizations. In any case, the practice of participation and dialogue [as an integral feature of the organization] has by no means exhausted all its possibilities and is as relevant today as it was 50 years ago.

From the very beginning, the ILO recognized that it could not accomplish its mission within a restricted geographical area, that the countries outside Europe were bound to play an increasingly important rôle in international affairs, and consequently that its activities and influence must be world-wide.

The founding member states were countries signing the Treaty of Versailles plus the thirteen States which were invited to join the League of Nations Covenant. The concept of broadening the geographical framework of the ILO as a first step towards "universality" was given particular emphasis by Harold Butler, who in 1932 succeeded Albert Thomas as Director-General. And it was during his term of office, in 1934, that the United States of America and the U.S.S.R. became member states. The Organization's capacity to play a world rôle was thus established long before the era of international organizations which began after the Second World War.

In pursuing its aims, the ILO has developed new and unusual methods of international co-operation. Firstly, the technique of international labour legislation, from the drawing up of ILO conventions and recommendations to their entry into force and control of their application, has become a model of its kind.

In the first place, there are elaborate procedures for consulting member states before the adoption of texts by the International Labour Conference. Even more unusual are the provisions foreseen once texts are actually adopted.

For example, at a period when the sovereign rights of States were far more jealously protected than they are today, member states undertook to submit any convention adopted by the Conference, not later than one year afterwards (or 18 months in exceptional circumstances) to "the authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies for the enactment of legislation or other action." This procedure applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to recommendations adopted in the same way by the Conference.

The technique for controlling the application of conventions, reinforced in 1946 in the light of experience, provided for the submission of reports by member states in clearly defined conditions, and includes provisions for appeals, that is, the procedure to be followed in the case of complaints which may be made against states which have failed to ensure that conventions adopted have been carried out satisfactorily.

These rules governing international conventions and recommendations, which have had a profound influence on practices adopted by other organizations, including Unesco, represent a major innovation in the conduct of international affairs.

There is a tendency to contrast the ILO's legal work, which has been a conspicuous feature of its action since the earliest days, with its operational activities, which sometimes appear to take second place. Until the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance was launched in 1949, the United Nations Specialized Agencies indeed lacked the means to give direct assistance to their member states. But before this programme was introduced, technical co-operation had become standard practice among international organizations. Indeed, as far back as the 1930s the ILO began sending technical missions to its member states, at their request, to advise them in drawing up social legislation.

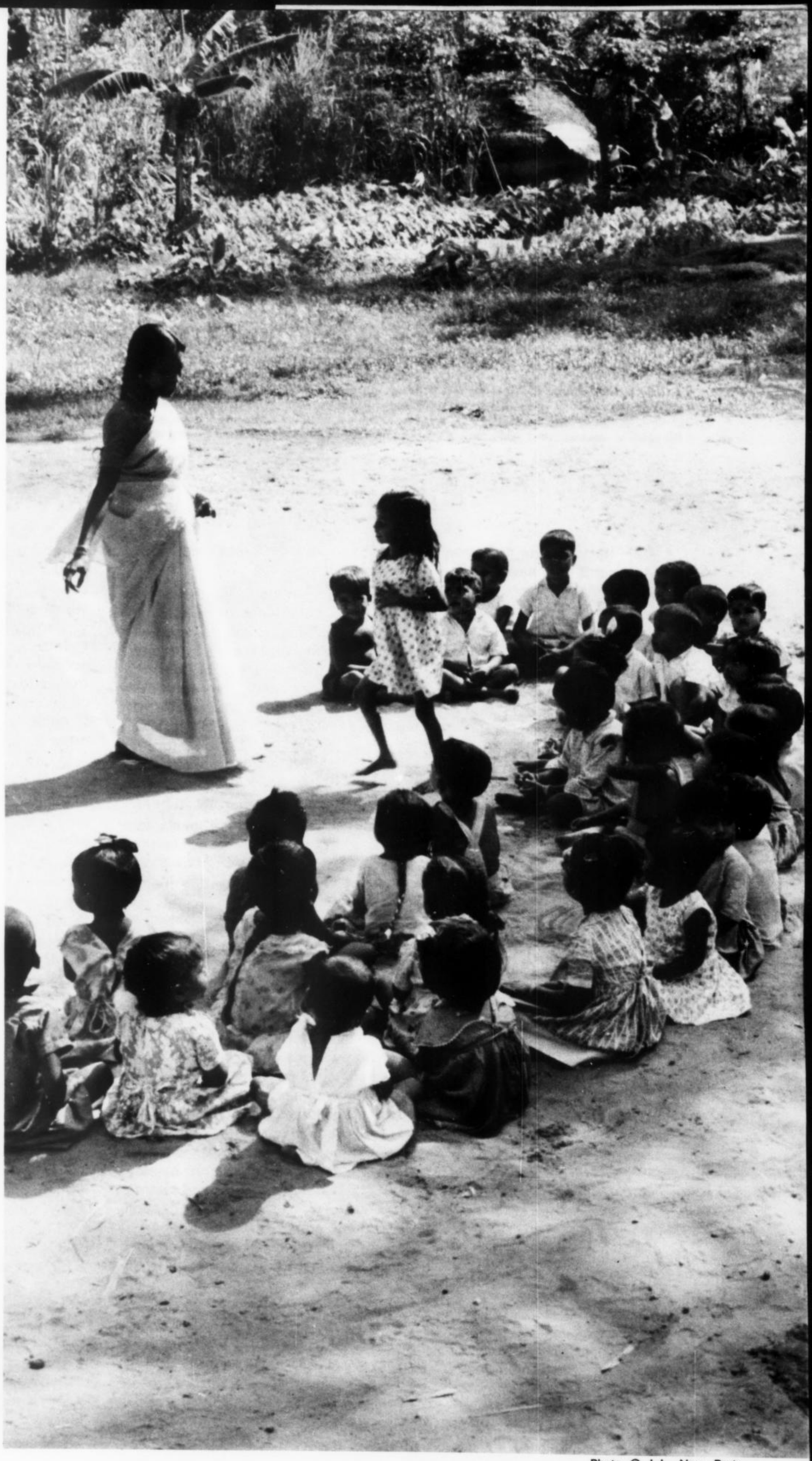
These first technical assistance missions, though in no way comparable in complexity and scope to those carried out by technical missions we know today, have contributed, however modestly, to creating a new concept of the rôle of international organizations.

One could quote other examples of methods utilized by the ILO which have proved their merits and have subsequently become general practice in international life: the study of specific technical problems, exchanges of information and publications—but the ones I have described seem to me to illustrate very clearly the pioneering rôle played by the ILO in this field...

The above text is taken from an address delivered before the Unesco Executive Board on May 8, 1969 by its chairman, commemorating the 50th anniversary of the International Labour Organization. On this occasion, the Executive Board welcomed Mr David A. Morse, Director-General of the ILO.

The first session of the International Labour Conference opens in Washington, D.C., on October 29, 1919, four months after the signing of the Versailles Peace Treaty.

Photo International Labour Office



The world has some 16 million teachers. Four million more will be needed by 1970, and between 34 and 44 million by the end of the century. Everywhere recruitment and training pose crucial problems. All countries are tackling the problem of teacher-training colleges. Here, U.N. agencies are playing an important part. The ILO and Unesco have also studied ways of improving the status of the teaching profession itself. A joint world-wide survey was carried out a few years ago, and what amounts to a universal Charter for teachers was drawn up and adopted unanimously in 1966. The Charter outlines teachers' rights and duties, stressing the need for professional training and the general principles of the status of teachers, security of tenure, hours of work, social security, advancement. Right, a school class in India.

Photo © J.-L. Nou, Paris

ILO announces

A WORLD EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMME

by David A. Morse
Director-General
International Labour Office

TWO harsh facts of the modern world underlie the need for a world employment programme. These are:

- Economic progress in developing countries though perceptible, is slow; the gap between poor and rich gets wider every day.
- The population explosion in these countries impedes progress, and in most of them more than half of the benefits of increased production is absorbed in merely maintaining existing levels of living, low as they are, for ever more people.

Opportunities for work have not increased as fast as the numbers of workers. Scores of millions are entirely bypassed by economic development. And the prospect for the future is even more grim. United Nations and ILO projections indicate that in 1970 the world's population may be about 3,600 million and the labour force some 1,510 million.

During the present decade the labour force has been increasing by about 20 million persons per year and during the next decade it is expected to grow by about 28 million a year. Between 1970 and 1980 more than 280 million people will be added to the world's labour force, 226 million in the less developed regions of the world and 56 million in the more developed regions.

Of these 280 million and more, about 173 million will be added to the labour force in Asia, 32 million in Africa, 29 million in Latin America, 18 million in the Soviet Union, 17 million in North America, 12 million in Europe and 1.3 million in Oceania. The net increase in the world's labour force under the age of 25 will amount to some 68 million workers, nearly all of whom (64.5 million) will be added to the labour force of the less developed regions of the world.

It is figures such as these that caused one writer—Manfred Halpern—to describe the situation in these words: "For the great majority of peasants, the benefits of the modern age can be summed up by saying that it has become harder to die. As a result, more peasants are probably kept alive to suffer misery than ever before in history. With appetites whetted by the hope of a better life, their present suffering seems all the harder to bear."

Happily, there is a third basic fact which is more promising. It is that, although the volume of international development assistance has hardly increased in recent years, a measure of international solidarity exists, a solidarity that impels the richer countries to assume some of the burdens of economic and social underdevelopment.

The aim of the World Employment Programme is to reverse the trend towards ever-growing masses of peasants and slum dwellers who have no part in development. It will do so partly by providing them with the skills needed for productive work and partly through measures of rural development, industrialization, youth employment schemes, investment and international trade. These will enable developing countries to use more of their human resources, and so achieve the prime object of development, which after all is to bring about a better life for the people.

The World Employment Programme will be one of the ILO's principal tasks for the 1970s—our part in what has already come to be referred to as the Second Development Decade.

It must be an *employment* programme because the only path to a better life in the poorer countries is productive work by the people themselves. And it must be a *world* programme because, while the main burden will be on the developing countries, the Programme cannot succeed without help from the industrialized nations—individually through bilateral programmes and collectively through the ILO and other international organizations.

Moreover, the industrialized nations are themselves faced with some difficult employment problems which may also come within the scope of the World Employment Programme.

A positive approach to the problems of employment creation is not new to the ILO. During the depression of the 1930s the International Labour Conference adopted recommendations about public works and other policies to increase demand as methods of fighting unemployment, mainly in the industrialized countries.

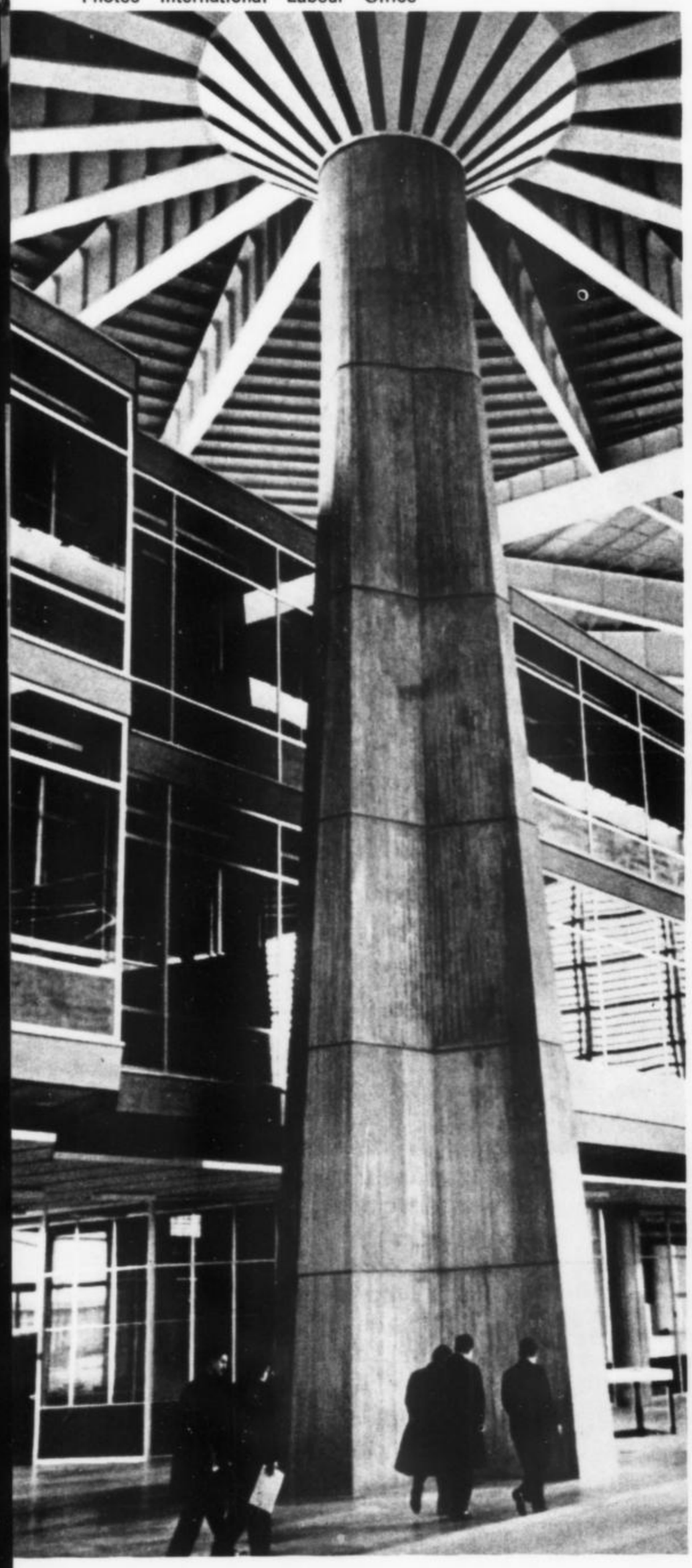
SINCE the Second World War the problems of developing countries have come to occupy the centre of the stage. Training workers and managers in modern skills has been the principal and fastest-growing ILO contribution to the technical assistance and co-operation programmes of the 1950s and 1960s. Some of the ILO technical co-operation projects have had as their aim a direct increase in employment.

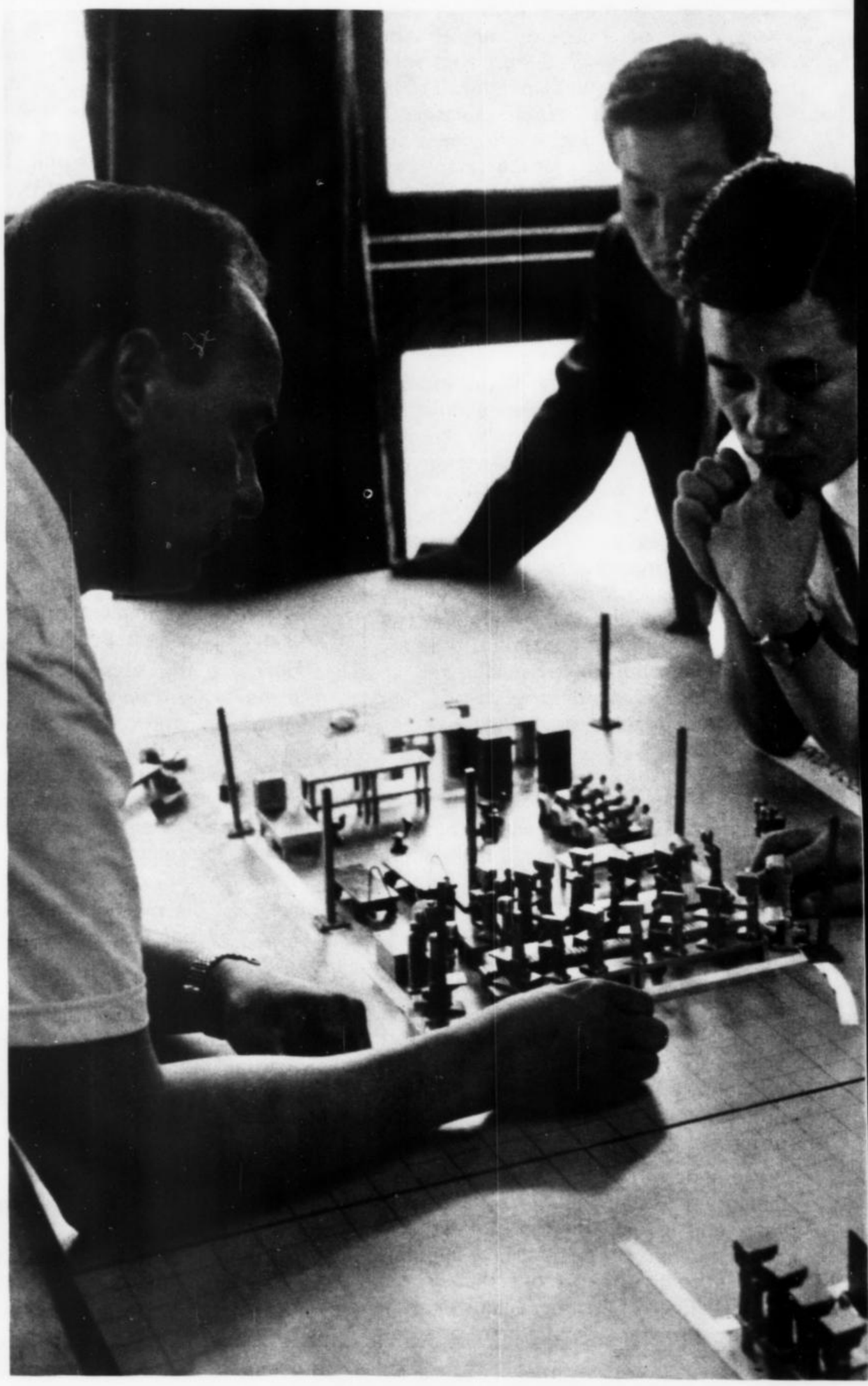
In 1964 the Conference adopted a convention and a recommendation concerning employment policy, which placed special emphasis on the problems of poor countries. In 1966 the Eighth Conference of American States Members of the ILO adopted the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

Hundreds of millions of new jobs must be created before world unemployment can be brought under control. In Asia alone, it was forecast that 300 million jobs would need to be found between 1960 and 1980 just to keep the gap from growing wider. This year, the ILO is launching a World Employment Programme which may help change the pattern of world employment by training unskilled workers for new types of jobs. In 1963, it created an International Centre for Advanced Technical and Vocational Training in Turin, Italy (below left), in which Unesco also collaborates. Geared particularly to the developing countries, the Centre provides advanced training for workers as well as technicians and managerial staff. Below right, engineers at the Korean Productivity Centre, Seoul, discuss plans for developing the electronics industry in the Republic of Korea. Six hundred ILO labour experts are at work on more than 250 technical co-operation programmes in over 90 countries.

Photos International Labour Office





Changing the global pattern of jobs and skills

Ottawa Plan for Human Resources Development, on which work has begun.

In this plan, as in a proposed Asian Manpower Plan and a Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa, the central preoccupation is with providing work and the skills needed for work. These plans will in fact form the regional components of the World Employment Programme.

The World Employment Programme itself reflects the preoccupations expressed by the International Labour Conference in 1967 in a resolution on ILO technical co-operation for economic and social development. Proposed by the Workers' Group, that resolution calls for plans to intensify ILO action to include "the formulation of targets in the field of employment and human resources development and improvements of conditions of work and life, as well as the periodical publication of progress reports in order to make international action for the period after the Development Decade a concerted international attack on world poverty."

The 50th anniversary of the International Labour Organization should, the resolution says, be marked by the start of "a world plan for employment and human resources development, setting forth the objectives and the concrete measures required by the International Labour Organization to meet urgent universal economic and social development needs and calling for intensive and co-ordinated tripartite action to develop and employ human resources, improve conditions of life and work and develop social institutions."

IT is important, I think, to stress the social as distinct from purely economic goals of the World Employment Programme. Productive employment by itself is very much an economic concept. But it leads, through a better distribution of wealth, to a wider sharing of the fruits of development—food, shelter, some frugal comfort. Where poverty is widespread, these elementary material gains are the first and almost the only meaning of social progress.

Methods of economic development that bring social benefits by providing work and income for the highest possible number of people are infinitely more attractive than those that do not do so. Even if it means slower economic growth, employment-oriented development is to be preferred on social grounds—so long as it does not result in actual economic stagnation. The World Employment Programme is to explore and exploit all the existing possibilities of such development.

There is no clearer and more concrete form of social participation in development than fruitful employment. This is not to deny that social participation should go much farther and extend, for instance, to some form of consultation on the direction that a country's development should take. But for many of the common people in the developing countries, a chance to work is the need of the moment.

The adoption of the World Employment Programme as the mainspring of action during the sixth decade of the ILO's existence is bound to entail some changes in habits of thought and work. The main concern will be with those who do not have work rather then with those already in employment. Questions of rural development are likely to become far more important.

Since other international organizations are also concerned with the factors affecting employment, new patterns of inter-organizational co-operation may be called for. If the International Labour Conference is to play its full part in the Programme, special arrangements may have to be made for the Conference regularly to review progress and to make recommendations for implementation of the World Employment Programme.

How are the objects of the Programme to be attained? First, a statement will be drawn up indicating what is desirable and possible in the way of employment creation and skill formation, and proposing the measures that must be taken by individual countries and international organizations to achieve it.

Next, all the means available to the ILO will be applied to see that these measures are in fact taken. Thus, there will be a first phase in which a programme of action will be drawn up and a second phase in which it will be carried out.

The first phase will involve the setting up of targets or, in other words, hard figures. It will not be a mere proclamation of the desirability of more employment and a better qualified labour force. Rather, it will give provisional numbers of workers to be gainfully engaged in specific types of work by certain future dates—from five to 15 years from now.

Such an estimate cannot be very precise or detailed, but that does not mean it must be vague. Within limits, it will show to what extent the social evil of unemployment and underemployment might be contained and eventually reduced, if not, five years from now, then in ten or 15 years.

THIS quantitative approach is crucial to the concept of the Programme. It marks the difference between vague intent and firm resolution, between international charity and true co-operation for development. The intention is to help in shaping a clear and healthy future rather than in merely relieving present burdens. It is calculated to inspire modest confidence in place of resignation and defeatism.

To set up targets and to develop concrete programmes of action, many facts and figures are needed. This will inevitably take time and effort. First, there must be some idea of the trend of population growth, employment and unemployment, training and education, movements of workers between town and country and many other aspects of the use, non-use, underdevelopment (and occasionally overdevelopment) of human resources.

Then comes the task of determining what can be done to improve future prospects. Many methods of creating work and providing skills are known in principle, but practical policy-making calls for more precise information. For example, certain types of agrarian reform and of small-scale industry development may be expected to increase employment—but approximately how much new work are they likely to create, by what time, and at what cost? What will the increase in production be, and how likely is it that this higher output can be marketed?

It is essential that certain forecasts be made for a relatively distant future. For instance, one cannot know how to adapt primary education to the true needs of developing countries without some notion of what most pupils' later working life will be like. Nor can there be a large programme of public works to absorb idle rural manpower without some estimate of sales prospects for the extra output that the programme would make possible.

How much work and bread a country can give its people, and what skills its workers need, depend largely on

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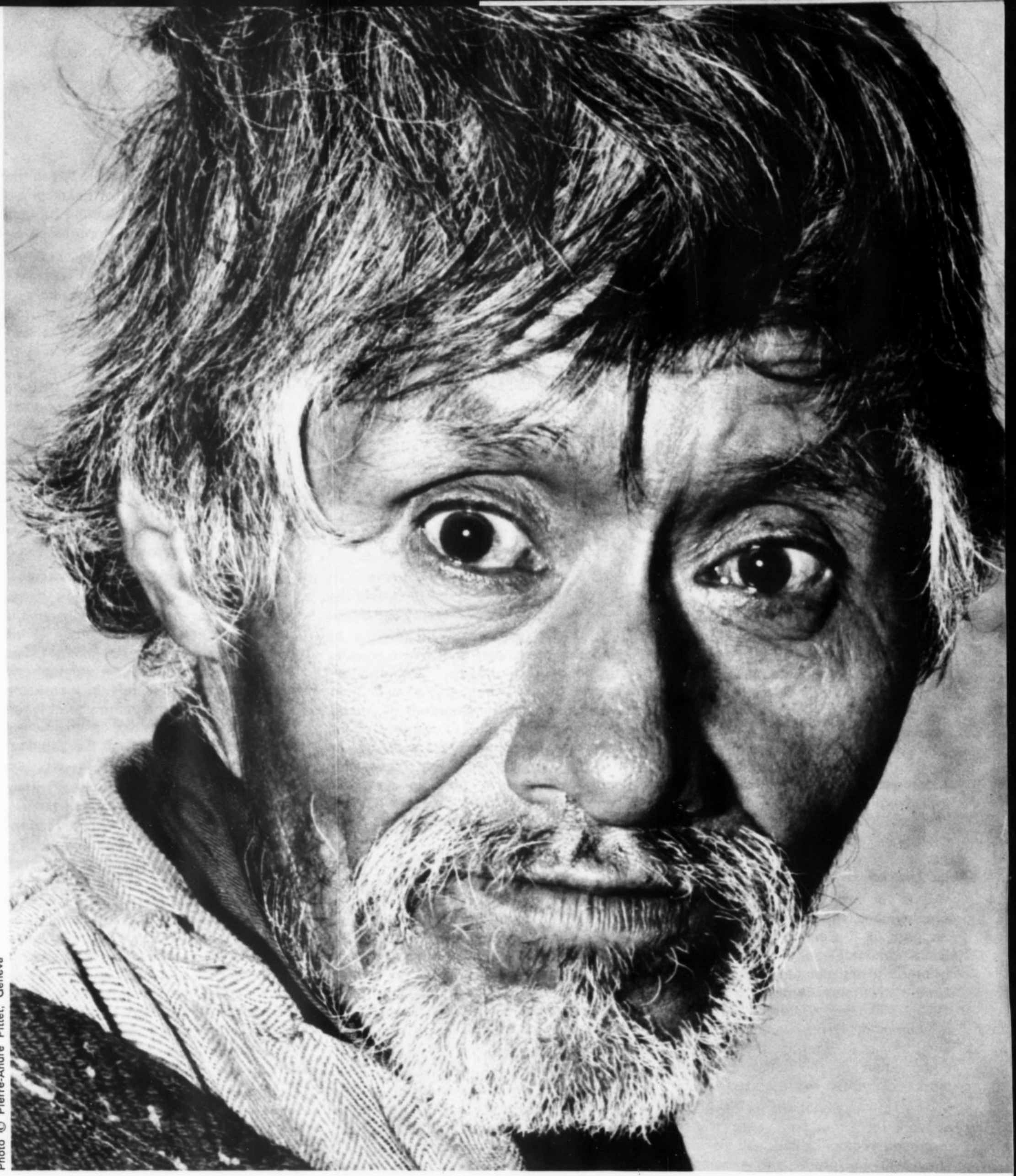

Photo © Pierre-André Pittet, Geneva

The harsh poverty of seven million Indians who live in the high Andean plateaux led the ILO to launch the Andean Programme in 1954 in co-operation with other U.N. specialized agencies. This far-reaching rehabilitation operation attacks the root causes of poverty through a system of 20 "action bases", each one a miniature international operation in itself: the FAO expert teaches new methods of farming, the WHO medical teams instruct on hygiene, fight disease and improve health conditions, UNICEF tackles the problem at the children's level, Unesco and the ILO design schools built largely by the Indians themselves, and ILO specialists teach vocational courses. Under a formula of "Each one teach one", the ILO trains community leaders to carry on the work after the international experts leave, and gradually national experts from the six countries involved—Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Chile and Argentina—are taking over key positions. Encouraged by the positive results of the Andean Programme, the ILO in 1966 inaugurated the Ottawa Plan for Human Resources Development in Latin America and the Caribbean, the first of a series of regional programmes included in the World Employment Programme. Above, a Peruvian farmer.

ILO targets in Second Development Decade

its economic and social structure—on the investments that have been made in years gone by in the land, and in the transport, educational and manufacturing systems. These things cannot be built up quickly, and once there they last a long time.

We know that existing structures in the developing countries do not enable high levels of employment to be attained. Better structures can only be designed in the light of a fairly clear image of their long-term use and functions.

The ILO is setting up teams in the Latin American, Asian and African regions to assemble and consolidate, country by country, the existing data and estimates, and to fill the numerous gaps. When this information is complete, programmes of action will be drawn up for each region, for a number of sub-regions, and, if requested, for individual countries. The regional programmes will then be consolidated and presented as the World Employment Programme—a programme of national, regional and worldwide action.

OBVIOUSLY, plans for employment creation and skill formation will have ramifications in the whole area of economic and social development, in education, agriculture and general rural development, industrialization, international trade.

It is for this reason that the World Employment Programme is regarded as part of a Second United Nations Development Decade—the ILO's contribution to the concerted attack of the United Nations family, during the 1970s, on the problems of underdevelopment. This aspect of the Programme is well illustrated by the composition of the team already at work on the Ottawa Plan.

After the regional teams have been at work for about two years, the first proposed regional plans will be ready. They will be crude and incomplete, subject to continuing review, calling for further studies. But although imperfect they will provide something that does not exist now—signposts showing the directions of policy leading to the highest possible level of employment consistent with approved economic and social goals and present and potential skills.

They will propose action by governments, by employers' and workers' organizations, by the ILO and other international agencies in the fields of industrialization, rural development, youth employment, wage policy, training and education and international trade.

They will also indicate what further efforts will be needed if the expected results of the proposed programmes are thought inadequate. And they will try to show the tragic consequences that may be expected if the recommendations are *not* followed.

It will then be for the ILO to apply all its means of action to get the programme carried out. First, there is the power of the International Labour Conference to recommend and persuade. The 1969 anniversary session of the Conference will be asked, when discussing my Report, to examine and give guidance on the detailed aims and methods of the World Employment Programme (1). Next, the 1970 session will examine the work accomplished in 1968 and 1969.

The Conference will be invited to endorse the broad lines of the proposed action programmes. With the full weight of its prestige, it will then recommend implementation of these programmes by all ILO member countries. From that moment onwards both the Conference and the Governing Body will receive periodic progress reports showing how far the Conference's recommendations have been followed, and with what results.

Should the targets fail to be attained, the Conference and the Governing Body will be invited to examine the causes and to propose means of correction and improvement. On the other hand, should results go beyond expectations, the sights will be set higher and the targets revised upwards.

Similiarly, in each region, plans and progress reports will be submitted to the ILO Regional Conference and Advisory Committee concerned. The influence of these regional bodies can then be brought to bear on countries or groups of countries to secure full and vigorous implementation.

It is obviously on the developing countries that the main responsibility will fall in the first instance. But much will also depend on the industrialized States, on their multilateral and bilateral assistance programmes and their trade and investment policies.

The programmes of recommended action might indeed become the framework—national, regional and worldwide—into which national bilateral aid activities could be fitted. Given the relatively large volume of bilateral aid, this unifying and co-ordinating function could be of enormous importance.

The ILO's technical co-operation programme, supported by its research work, will of course be available at all times to help countries carry out the proposed programmes of action. A certain amount of technical co-operation can be provided from the ILO's own budget. But during the 1960s a much larger volume of funds for technical co-operation has become available through the United Nations Development Programme (formed on January, 1966 by the consolidation of the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance).

THE bulk of these latter funds, insofar as they were available for ILO action (i.e., currently at an annual rate of about $20 million), has always been devoted to training and other activities that help in increasing employment. In the years ahead these funds should constitute a major aid in the implementation of the Employment Programme.

The practical participation of other international organizations and bilateral aid programmes might also reasonably be foreseen. If other agencies have taken part in the formulation of the programmes of action they might choose to use some of their resources to help implement the proposed programmes. And even in their own work in the fields of education, agriculture, investment, trade and so on these agencies will no doubt want to take account of the guidelines in the World Employment Programme for employment-oriented development.

Only on this broad front of truly concerted action does the World Employment Programme stand any chance of achieving its goals. So far, the signs are encouraging. Many countries and international organizations have already expressed their willingness to join in this world venture.

At the same time, we should be under no delusions as to the magnitude of the task. The World Employment Programme is a most ambitious undertaking requiring prolonged and determined effort—first and above all by the ILO and its member countries, but also by others. Yet a less ambitious project for advancing social justice would not have been worthy of the Organization's 50th anniversary.

(1) This issue went to press before the opening of the Conference.

Photo © LKAB - Börje Rönneberg, Kiruna

The article below is a condensation prepared by the staff of the "Unesco Courier" of a study prepared by Jean de Givry on the development of labour-management relations in the past 50 years. Mr de Givry is head of the Social Institutions Development Department of the ILO. On page 20 we present major passages from the conclusions by the author himself, in which he sums up the lessons and prospects that emerge from this half century of developments in industrial relations.

The new language of labour-management relations

'LA PARTICIPATION'

THE world of labour-management relations has been marked by many changes in the course of the past five decades. Three major developments stand out above the others.

First and foremost, is the new attitude toward the worker as a human being in his own right, as an individual or recognized member of a working group rather than an impersonal unit in a production schedule. With this has come the encouragement of personal initiative, the decentralization of responsibility and increased efficiency.

The second major development has been the series of important changes in the basic structure of industry itself or steps leading thereto. The nationalization of certain industries and public utilities, the participation of workers in running publically-owned enterprises, worker-management and joint-management systems as well as other formulas for giving employees a voice in management all point to a new interest in structural reforms that have modified the wage earner's rôle and indeed the capitalist system itself.

The third major development in worker-management relations has been the institution of various procedures to prevent arbitrary action on the part of management, such as the right to organize and bargain collectively, the right to strike, the right to air grievances freely and without fear of reprisals, the right to be protected against dismissal without due cause, and the right to a voice in running an enterprise. All these add up to a virtual Bill of Rights for working people in industry.

Like the present-day monarchies, modern industry has gradually evolved from the absolutism of the past to a "constitutional" system under which authority is exercised in accordance with a set of principles, criteria and

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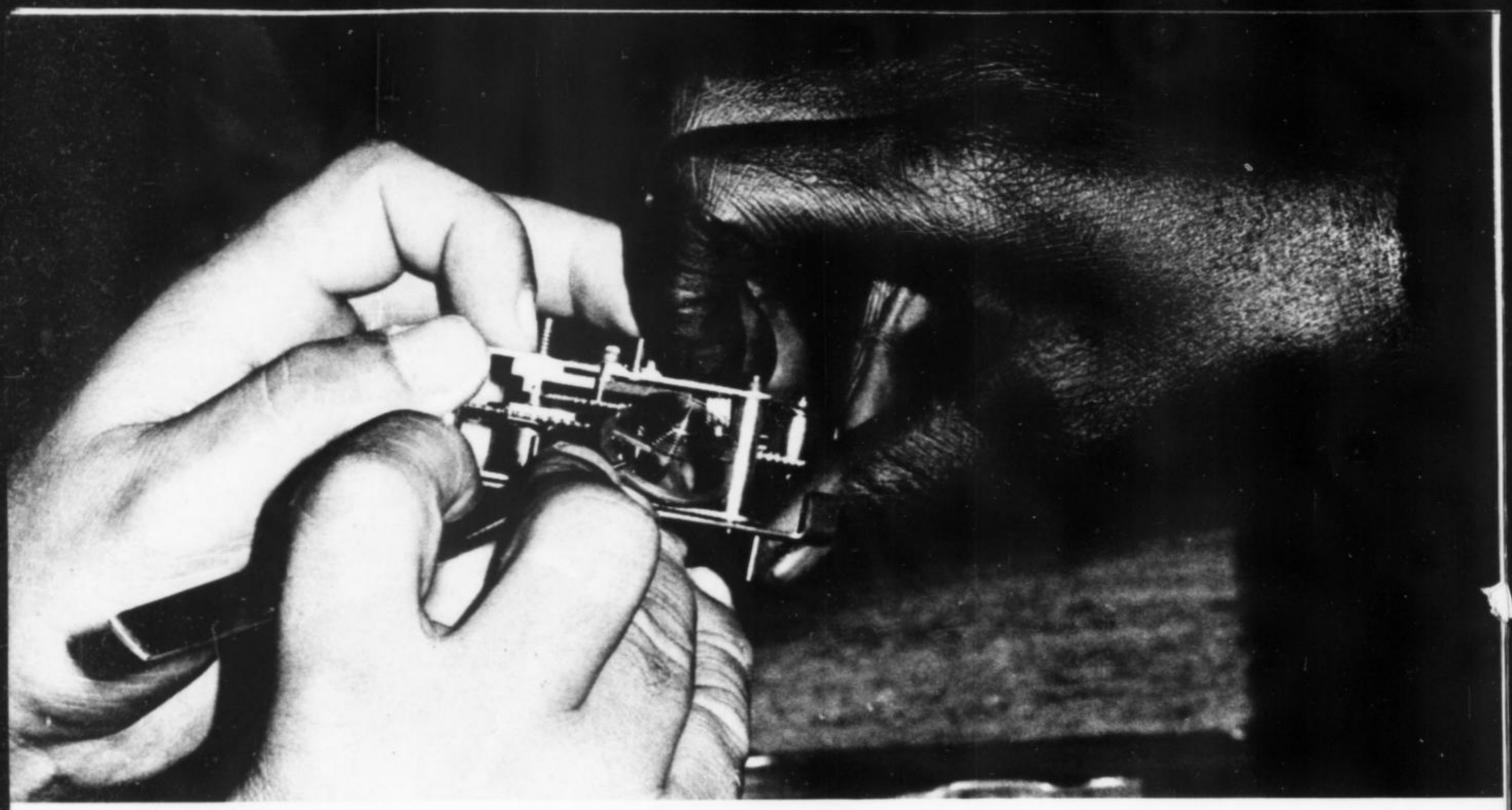

A share in responsibility at all levels

rules that have been discussed and agreed upon in advance.

These basic principles are fundamental to any lasting improvement in human relations in industry. David Morse, Director-General of the ILO, underlined this when he told the International Labour Conference in 1954 that, "The essential thing is to give men a sense of purpose in their work... Only when they understand how by their work they contribute to the well-being of society can they have that confidence in their own true worth which is the mark of freedom."

Over the past 50 years, a great deal of thought and ingenuity has gone into creating a more human atmosphere in industry and improving day-to-day relations between management and employees. Working people now know more about such things as their company's policy and its position in industry because managers increasingly recognize that a worker's respect for his employer and his achievements has a definite bearing on how efficiently an enterprise can be run, and employees who take pride in the knowledge that their work is worthwhile and who know what their products will be used for have a better attitude toward their jobs and get more satisfaction out of them.

Such a climate of understanding and confidence, which increases plant efficiency and improves the worker's situation, was emphasized by the International Labour Conference in 1967, when it urged management to cooperate with employees in drawing up policies of intercommunication that would ensure a complete and objective exchange of information.

A successful intercommunication policy cannot be an afterthought; it should permeate industry at all levels, instilling in all concerned the feeling that they are working together with a common aim. According to sociologist Richard F. Behrendt of the Federal Republic of Germany, "Men living in the last third of the 20th century cannot be expected to do any more than obey their orders in a mechanical way unless they understand them and feel they are justified." They will respond to leaders with whom they feel they can work together, and the ability to kindle this kind of collaboration is a major quality of successful management today. Carried further, this team spirit becomes "participative management," a concept that stimulates individual creativity and initiative by encouraging workers to participate in company activities.

PARTICIPATIVE management flourishes when industry is organized so that as many people as possible, at every level, share in responsibility. Two principles often used by modern industry as guidelines are that decisions should be taken at the lowest possible level—where the problems are encountered—and that those who shoulder responsibility should also be given corresponding authority. This approach calls for some basic rethinking by many executives who still tend to hoard their power.

Nevertheless, private enterprise is undergoing far-reaching changes, and the promotion of the status of workers and their increased influence in management are firmly established principles, although it is still not clearly understood how they should be applied.

A totally different approach to labour-management relations has occurred in countries which have either done away with private enterprise altogether or at least made far-reaching changes in its character. In the U.S.S.R. and the countries of Eastern Europe, for example, industry and commerce operate under a system based on a centrally planned economy and a unified trade union movement. Yet, several of these countries differ considerably in the way they run their industries.

■ In the U.S.S.R., the director bears sole responsibility for the plant's operation although in most personnel matters he shares his authority with the trade unions, and the workers have a say in planning and production.

■ Yugoslavia introduced a system of employees' self-management in 1950 with all workers sharing in management through their elected delegates—a fundamental right that is embodied in the Yugoslav constitution of 1963.

■ Poland has had a worker-management system since 1958. The worker-management conference, made up of members of the works trade union committee, the Communist party executive committee and the Workers' Council (elected by the employees), supervises the overall running of the industry, and takes general policy decisions.

■ Since 1968, industrial management boards in Romania have been compos-

AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

For 50 years, the ILO has fought to win equal pay and conditions for all workers irrespective of race and colour. In 1958, it adopted a convention against discrimination in employment that has been ratified by 67 member states. Similar action by Unesco led to the adoption of a convention against discrimination in education, now ratified by 50 member states.

Photo International Labour Office

ed of the manager, senior supervisory staff, engineers and other specialists, as well as the chairman of the trade union committee and workers' representatives elected for two years.

But in other countries, workers are assured a place on managerial or supervisory boards of industry, sometimes on an equal basis with shareholders, such as in the coal mining and iron and steel industries of the Federal Republic of Germany. And in the United Arab Republic, employees have equal representation on the boards of public industry.

In other cases, workers have the right to occupy only a minority of the seats on boards of management or supervision, such as under the general system in force in the Federal Republic of Germany, in Austria, and in the French nationalized industries. Other schemes guarantee worker representation in the management of public industries in the Syrian Arab Republic and Mali.

In the past few years, industrial reform has been widely debated in many countries, particularly in Western Europe. Trade unions in the Federal Republic of Germany have run into stiff opposition from employers, as they call for the extension of joint-management to all large companies. In Austria, despite the efforts of the unions, joint-management in industry has not yet been introduced, while in the Netherlands, the three main trade union organizations urge that boards of management should reflect the interests of investors and labour alike. And in the United Kingdom, the Trades Union Congress has gone into this problem in a number of proposals to the Royal Commission on Trade Unions and Employers' Associations.

In France, the whole question of workers' participation has been in the forefront of political discussion for some years. After the *événements* of May, 1968, and the announcement of widespread reforms which followed, there was strong reaction to a plan to introduce a new approach to industrial organization. It involved three separate elements: a worker's co-operative, an associated shareholders' company, and a board of management which would be responsible to a supervisory board representing both the shareholders and the workers.

THE French National Employers' Council opposed the plan, stating that participation was inseparably bound up with efficiency and did not include sharing control of the company or becoming embroiled in arguments which would hopelessly mire efficiency. They felt that efficiency required one chain of command under the control of the head of the firm, who either owns it or is responsible to the shareholders. They admitted, though, that he had to delegate a great deal of authority to his supervisory staff and keep his employees informed at all times.

Despite the fact that these somewhat tentative developments have raised the working man to a new position in industry, the question of his participation in management has not yet been completely settled.

In tackling the problem of labour-management relations, the International Labour Organization has been able to isolate certain constant factors, despite political and economic differences in various countries. Over the past 50 years, it has played a decisive rôle in promoting labour legislation through international labour conventions and recommendations. Most of these legal instruments have set down minimum standards of protection for workers which, in the case of conventions, must be followed by member states that have ratified them, or which serve as guidelines if incorporated in recommendations.

The problems raised by changing employer-worker relations are of direct concern to the International Labour Organization which, since it was established, has stimulated recognition of the trade union movement and contributed to its growth: international standards adopted in 1948 and 1949 (the first ratified by 76 States, the second by 84) were conceived to protect freedom of association and promote the right to organize and bargain collectively, and in 1970, the International Labour Conference will draw up regulations to protect workers' representatives in industry and provide facilities for them.

Today, workers in industrial countries are anxious to find new methods of collective bargaining which would strengthen trade union influence in industry. The Royal Commission on Trade Unions and Employers' Associations (1965-1968) went into the question in some detail, pointing out that the United Kingdom has two systems of industrial relations.

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Protection against unjustified dismissal

One is the formal, industry-wide collective agreement concerned with settling pay, hours of work and employment conditions, while the other is an informal system born of the actual behaviour of trade unions and employers' associations, of managers, shop stewards and workers. These systems are often at odds with each other since bargaining that takes place within factories is mainly outside the control of employers' associations and trade unions.

The Royal Commission strongly favours collective bargaining at the factory level to regulate pay, form negotiating committees and draw up grievance procedures according to local conditions, as well as deal with such questions as reductions in personnel, discipline and the rights and obligations of shop stewards.

THERE is a tendency in some countries with long experience of collective bargaining at this level—like the United States and Canada—to extend negotiations to include matters that used to be decided exclusively by management, such as the introduction of technological change. When the employees of Canadian National Railways went on strike in October, 1964, the investigating commission recommended that management should postpone technological changes until the unions had been informed and given the opportunity to negotiate on them.

The right to strike is not dealt with specifically in international labour conventions. However, it is clearly affirmed in the legislation and even the constitutions of a number of countries, and it is embodied in the European Social Charter, drafted in co-operation with the ILO and signed in 1961 by the member states of the Council of Europe. It is not surprising that there are no international regulations on the right to strike: even on a national level, they are difficult to formulate.

The concept of the strike is difficult to pin down in precise legal terms because of the variety of situations and purposes that can be involved. And in addition to strikes called by unions in support of claims put forward in collective bargaining, there are "wildcat" or "unofficial" strikes, not backed by trade unions.

To exercise the right to strike, especially where essential services are involved, presents problems which are sometimes out of proportion to the issues at stake. Because of the lack of universally binding standards to postpone or settle industrial strikes, there is a great deal of interest in the methods used in different countries, and the International Labour Office is preparing a comparative study of these procedures.

Labour legislation and trade union efforts have not only secured certain rights for workers' representatives to negotiate with management on an equal footing, but they also shield the workers themselves against arbitrary action and defend their right to fair treatment and protection against undue loss of their jobs.

In 1967, the International Labour Conference formally recognized that any worker has the right to submit his grievances without fear of reprisals, and have them dealt with according to accepted procedures.

The second point—that no worker should be arbitrarily deprived of his job—was internationally recognized in 1963 when the International Labour Conference adopted a recommendation stipulating that no employee should be dismissed without a valid reason connected with his capacity or conduct, or based on the operational requirements of his employer.

This was a major step forward from the traditional belief that an employer, having hired a worker for an indefinite period of time, did not have to justify firing him, so long as he gave sufficient notice.

The principle that dismissals must be justified, already written into the laws of countries like the Federal Republic of Germany, Norway and the U.S.S.R., has made definite progress since the 1963 recommendation was adopted and has been incorporated in new laws passed in Italy and Cyprus.

In the United Kingdom, the Royal Commission on Trade Unions and Employers' Associations, in outlining the safeguards that workers should have to protect themselves against unjustified dismissal, felt that voluntary procedures should be developed and extended. In addition, a majority of the Commission members also recommended passing legislation similar to the ILO recommendation against unfair dismissal.

This recommendation maintains that any working man "who feels that his employment has been unjustifiably terminated" should be entitled to appeal within a reasonable time "to a body established under a collective agreement or to a neutral body such as a court, an arbitrator, an arbitration committee or a similar body" with the power to examine the case and decide if the dismissal was justified. If it decides against dismissal, it should also have the authority to order that the worker concerned, unless reinstated (and, where appropriate, with back payment of wages), should be paid adequate compensation or awarded some other form of relief.

However, the ILO recommendation does not advocate that such bodies should have a say in determining the size of a firm's work force. In other words, even if an employee's conduct and work are satisfactory, he can be dismissed simply because the work he does is no longer necessary.

At a time of accelerated technical change and increased competition, it is generally recognized that an industrial society must extend its manpower mobility in order to keep expanding: under a social policy aimed at the greatest good for the greatest number of people, the principle that a worker must be kept in the same job is no longer considered justified; guaranteed earnings and employment security in general are more important than job security.

According to the International Labour Conference of 1964, structural changes should be made for two reasons: "to obtain the greatest benefit from economic and technical progress; (and) to protect from financial or other hardship, groups and individuals whose employment is affected by structural changes."

To help unneeded workers to maintain their incomes, find new work and, if necessary, acquire the skills for a different type of work is now becoming an essential objective of employment policy.

IN the industrial battle that goes on in modern society where groups of workers may suddenly become innocent victims just because they are "surplus" or their skills have become obsolete, there is a humane obligation to help the unemployed on the grounds that "we owe it to them". The new principle of social justice that now seems to be gaining acceptance is that since society as a whole benefits from economic progress it is only fair that it should also bear the social cost.

The right of workers to participate in running the firm they work for is another feature of their improved position in industry. Employees have become more closely associated with plant operations through such bodies as works committees or councils which are usually advisory in character, at least in economic matters. In some European countries, laws on such worker-participation were passed after the First World War, but it was only during and after the Second World War that the movement developed on a large scale.

In 1952, the International Labour Conference adopted a recommendation which called for the promotion of consultation and co-operation between employers and workers at company

level on matters which did not fall within the scope of collective bargaining or that was not normally dealt with by other existing methods of settling terms and conditions of employment.

Some years later, in reviewing this recommendation, the ILO predicted that consultation and collaboration schemes in industry could be expected to grow and play an increasingly important part in management.

LEGISLATION now provides for such collaboration in Austria, Belgium, the Congo (Kinshasa), Finland, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Iraq, the Netherlands, Spain, Tanzania and Tunisia. In other countries where there are no binding laws on the subject, there are nation-wide agreements between central trade union organizations and employers' confederations as in Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Italy, or agreements on a voluntary basis, as in the United Kingdom, Canada and India.

The workers' right to a share in the profits of industry, safeguarded in a number of countries by law, collective agreements or on a voluntary basis, is further proof of the change in relationship between employers and employees. One method is to assist them to buy shares either in the firm they work for or in another company so that they can join the ranks of shareholders and further the spread of "people's capitalism".

A recent example of this trend is a French law passed in 1967 which makes it compulsory to give wage earners a share in the benefits of the expansion of any industry employing more than 100 persons. This gives the workers a "new right" based on the idea that progress through common efforts should be for the common benefit—if an employer uses the need to plough back profits as a reason for refusing wage increases, workers have a certain claim to the resulting increase in assets.

This legislation is similar to statutory and contractual schemes introduced in the Federal Republic of Germany to encourage workers to invest.

There is a strong reaction against the dehumanization of the worker caused by conditions in modern industrial plants. But if the rationalization of production contributes to reducing the working man to the level of a tool, then his new rights help to guarantee his dignity and a genuine human existence.

Many observers acknowledge that it is not necessary to abolish private enterprise in order to improve the

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Photo © Ethel - Snark International

FREEDOM TO ORGANIZE AND THE RIGHT TO STRIKE

Over the past few decades, labour legislation and trade union action have combined to win recognition for the working man's rights so that he can bargain with management on an equal basis. Workers now also have safeguards that protect them against arbitrary action such as unjustified dismissal, job insecurity and excessive working hours. There are no international regulations governing the right to strike, but the ILO has implicitly recognized the right to an unlimited strike when negotiations break down.

workers' lot fundamentally. The French sociologist, Pierre Drouin, maintains that "The evidence goes to show that it is not the system of industrial ownership that alienates man . . . but quite simply the system of production itself." Despite the fact that some recent reforms have been enacted to make shareholders out of employees, the problem nowadays in labour-management relations is as much, if not more, a question of "power" as of "ownership", and there is a growing feeling that workers should have a certain power in industry by virtue of the fact that they are employees.

But the problem remains whether additional power for workers should be exercised from outside the plant through trade unions, or from inside through worker representation on management or supervisory bodies, or by both methods simultaneously. Once trade unions begin to operate at the plant level and are able to conclude collective agreements covering questions formerly considered the sole concern of management, the workers' influence on management's decisions will be much the same as if they sat on managerial or supervisory boards.

Photo © Jean Marquis

HOWEVER clear-cut it may seem at first sight, the choice between sharing responsibility and defending the workers' interests does not mean that the two alternatives are strictly separated. The fact that workers take part in management does not rule out the need for machinery to defend their interests as employees. The emphasis now placed in Yugoslavia on the autonomy of the trade union movement and on the fact that its chief responsibility is to protect the workers' interests vis à vis the state and management, clearly shows that the abolition of private enterprise and the transfer of managerial power to the workers do not necessarily exclude conflict between those who give orders and those who take them.

Even when trade unions are concerned only with their members' interests, they tend to enlarge the scope of bargaining to include problems whose compexity forces them to take the interests of industry into account: if they didn't, the success of future bargaining would be impaired.

One conclusion that clearly emerges from the analysis of the three major developments that have marked employer-worker relations in the past five decades is their growing interaction. In order to bring about more lasting improvements, isolated measures are usually not enough; what is often needed is to operate on all three levels at the same time: the reorganization of industry, better methods of protecting the worker and the human factors involved.

Photo © APN

SAFETY AND HEALTH ON THE JOB

The ILO continues to wage a world campaign for more and better safety devices and health precautions on the job to meet new problems caused by today's technological development. Since 1930, the ILO has adopted a series of recommendations aimed at eliminating silicosis, an occupational disease of miners. Below, miners take a break at the pit bottom. Measures proposed by the ILO have effectively reduced other industrial hazards including lead poisoning, a menace to painters and typesetters, and phosphorus poisoning, once a threat to workers in the match-making industry. But each year, the production and use of new chemical substances creates fresh toxic dangers. New measures are needed also to control noise and improve poor working and living conditions which cause tension and increase psychic and cardiovascular illness. On the other hand, many dangerous jobs have become safer: in the construction industry, rivetters working on skyscrapers are protected by security nets (photo left), and in the iron and steel industry, special heat-resistant suits protect workers near to high temperature steel furnaces (below left). An international occupational safety and health information centre was set up under the auspices of the ILO in 1960, and this summer it is organizing an international congress to study fire protection in the factory, safety and health in small firms, on farms and in the timber industry, and safety and health training.

Photo © Ernst Haas - Magnum

PEOPLE NO LONGER MACHINES IN LABOUR RELATIONS

by Jean de Givry

Photo © Willy Ronis

FIFTY years ago, the Preamble to the ILO Constitution laid its chief emphasis on the need to improve working conditions. Twenty-five years later, the Declaration of Philadelphia adopted by the ILO General Conference in 1944 reaffirmed this principle and proclaimed that "labour is not a commodity."

No one can deny that the situation of workers, especially in the industrialized countries, has improved considerably in terms of wages, working hours, safety and health and holidays with pay. The number of international labour conventions adopted and ratified in many countries points to the advances made in all these fields.

But surely the principle that labour is not a commodity has far wider implications than the improvement of working conditions. Does it not also mean that the worker is not merely an instrument, that he refuses to be treated like a machine or buffeted by forces or decisions over which he has no control.

It is clear that considerable progress will be needed before working people take their place as full-fledged members of industrial society and consider that they have an effective say in running it instead of being caught up in its coils and suffering the consequences of its fluctuations.

During the French student revolt of May 1968, which sparked off an unprecedented wave of social upheaval, the walls of university faculties were blazoned with slogans of all kinds. Alongside many of doubtful merit there was one that said: "a proletarian is someone who has no say in the use made of his life, and knows it."

A statement that defines a proletarian not in terms of lack of wealth or possessions, but as someone denied the power to choose freely, should give us cause for reflection. Doubly so, since it shows quite clearly that one of the basic claims of working people in the second half of the twentieth century may well be—and already is in certain countries—for a share in economic power, the right to a say in running the economy and thereby means of controlling its repercussions on their employment.

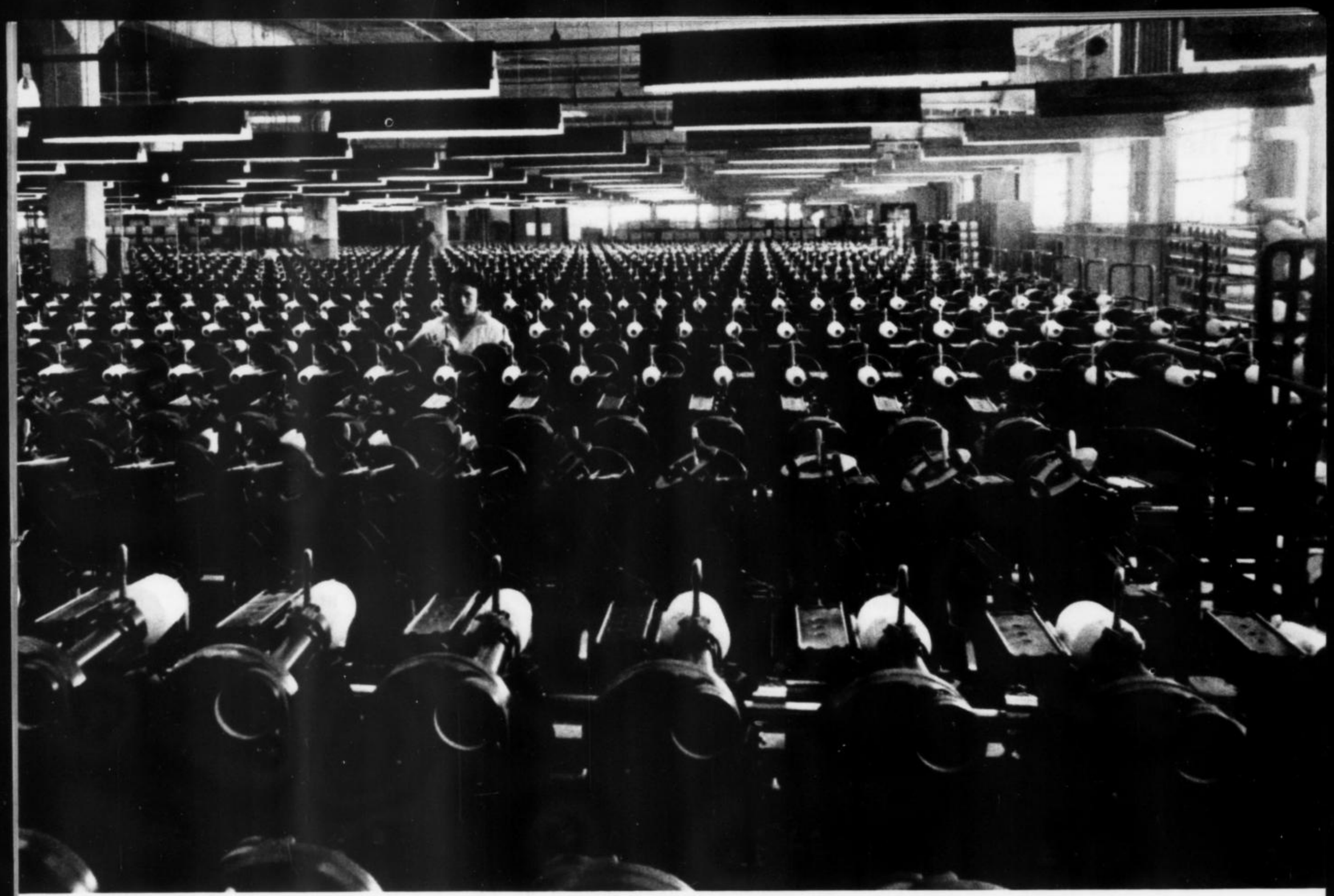
This demand goes far beyond a mere improvement in living standards or working conditions, for it affects the motive force of the whole economic system. It is therefore far more difficult to meet and is not likely to lend itself to the kind of simplified or universal solution prescribed by certain ideological slogans.

In the field of industrial relations, as in others, there may be "different but equally effective ways and means of handling a specific problem, depending on the historical development, the political system, the level of economic and social development, the concepts, values and overall structure of labour relations in a given country."

This was the conclusion reached recently by an ILO meeting on the rights of trade union representatives and the participation of workers in decisions in industrial plants.

With the evolution of labour-management relations, there is now a better understanding of the different functions of workers' representatives, and it is recognized that in order to carry out these duties they are entitled to certain safeguards and facilities. There is also a clearer appreciation—though this is still by no means universal—of the economic and social realities of the industrial plant itself and of the obligations its management must respect in order to produce more and better quality goods at lower prices.

The emphasis now laid on the in-



AUTOMATION **Row upon row of machines—200 in all—are controlled by a single woman in this textile factory. Since 1955, the ILO has studied the social implications of automation, created by the rise of the industrial society. As automation is introduced in plants and factories workers face new problems; some will have to learn different working methods or transfer to other jobs. Many young people looking for work often lack the qualifications now demanded by industry. The need to retrain workers for the industries of tomorrow will become a growing problem as automation develops.**

dustrial plant is a distinctive feature of modern industrial relations. The trend in this direction was noted as long ago as 1956 by a meeting of specialists called by the ILO to draw up guidelines for dealing with problems of industrial and human relations.

Observers of the industrial scene have also pointed out that in systems of industrial relations as different as those of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., collective agreements—however dissimilar their content—are reached in both cases at the factory level. In the developing countries, with few exceptions, collective agreements are also concluded at this level.

In certain European countries, too, trade union action at the factory level has been steadily re-enforced during the past decade. The most recent example is the recommendation by the Royal Commission on Trade Unions and Employers' Associations in the U.K. that the centre of gravity of collective bargaining should be shifted down to the plant level.

In any case, the economic and social character of the factory has changed radically since the First World War. At that time an industrial plant was nearly always a privately owned concern. But today we find a tremendous number of publicly owned industrial and commercial businesses side by side with those in the private industrial sector.

This applies not only to the socialist countries which have abolished private ownership in industrial production, but also to a number of Western countries which have nationalized major sectors of industry, and to the developing countries where the State, as the driving force behind development, is often the principal employer.

Reporting to the governing body of the ILO in 1955, the Committee on Freedom of Employers' and Workers' Associations noted: "the fact that a business is being run profitably or at a loss is one of the factors on which the efficiency of its management should be judged. It is probable that the profit motive operates more directly and actively in a privately owned business than one in public hands, whatever form the public control may take.

"Yet the profit motive is not absent in socialized industry, and it is clear that in most countries steps are taken to see that directors and managerial staffs of public industries are held directly responsible for the efficient running of the industry in their charge. In doing so, they undoubtedly experience many of the problems faced by employers and managers in private industry."

The number of common problems encountered by management in socialized industries and management in private firms has been growing since several socialist countries introduced economic reforms designed to give greater autonomy to industries within the structure of the national economy.

That managements of factories under public and private management alike are now seen to have increasingly similar objectives is surely of great

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The growing separation of management from ownership

significance from the standpoint of future developments in industrial relations at the factory level. The reason is that it inevitably focuses attention on the similarity of production and development problems facing factory managements rather than on differences arising from forms of ownership.

One of its first effects should be to promote a better understanding of the specific function of the factory, without which it would be unrealistic to hope for any lasting improvement in relations between staff and management.

All too often the factory is thought of in terms of the "profit" it must earn in order to subsist. But the term profit is ambiguous. In some cases it is used to indicate how much the factory has earned, that is, the income represented by the difference between receipts from sales and the cost of goods or services supplied. In others, it may be used to designate the returns from capital invested, and in this case it conjures up in many minds the image of working people being exploited and even defrauded.

One employer recently summed up the views of certain factory executives on this question as follows: "To talk of profits is sordid and debasing. It is best left to the managing director who has to talk in terms of 'profits' when explaining to shareholders how his 'business' is doing."

But on the whole, executives and still more so technicians and working staff—influenced by trade union views—do not feel so strongly about the question. They make a distinction between the factory where the talk is exclusively on technical matters, and the "business" where, unfortunately, the only thing talked about is profit.

Yet profit, or to use a word with less emotional overtones, viability is something no factory can do without. One might reasonably object to the way it is allocated or shared out, but not to its existence, for it is the yardstick of efficiency and good management. Indeed, one of the first qualifications for the director of any factory is his ability to make it pay.

The fact that recent economic reforms in the socialist countries have stressed the decisive importance of profits as a criterion of output and an incentive to production (1), may help employees to see more clearly that profits are positive symptoms of a factory's state of health.

But in view of the way some working people instinctively react to the mere mention of the word "profit", it might be as well to revise our vocabulary and, with a double advantage of clarifying the true function of the factory, substitute the idea of "economic creativeness" recently proposed by one economist. According to his definition, "economic creativeness is the efficient and increasing production and distribution of goods and services . . . This concept comprises current production and future progress, the methods used and their results, the individual and social aspects of entrepreneurship." (2)

A second consequence of the changing concepts of factory management is acceptance of the fact that, irrespective of the economic system, management is now a science requiring special aptitudes and skills. Proof of this is seen in the great number of management schools opened in the last 15 years in industrial and developing countries alike.

A third consequence, which stems directly from the second, is that managers, conscious of their position and responsibilities, are increasingly set on freeing themselves of excessively strict controls exercised by the owners of the factories they direct.

In the socialist countries, as already mentioned, there has been a move towards reducing State control over certain industries, to give them increased powers of decision and greater autonomy. In a number of highly industrialized Western countries, many observers have remarked on the increasing separation of ownership from management. This has led to the gradual emergence of a new class of managers, who regard themselves as professional directors with a responsibility to the employees and the public as well as to the owners.

In other Western countries, heated discussions on industrial reforms reflect a desire for the factory and its managers to be given a status that would make them something more than mere tools of the owners. It is a significant sign of the times that shortly after last year's social upheaval in France, the French Young Employers' Centre decided to change its name to Young Managers' Centre, and issued a statement declaring that "the powers of management are not derived from ownership alone."

In this search for a new status for the industrial plant one thing at least seems to be beyond dispute—the need for unity of command as a condition of efficient management. Recognition of this imperative has been a major factor in the gradual evolution in recent years from the idea of joint management to that of joint supervision of management. The real crux of the problem seems to be not so much the authority to be exercised by management as whether it has earned the confidence of all who have a stake in the prosperity of the factory, to whom it should feel responsible for its actions, and by what means it should keep the staff informed on the way it runs the business.

This brings me to my last point. Until now, the paramount concern in industrial relations has been the problem of sharing out the benefits of production. The organization and

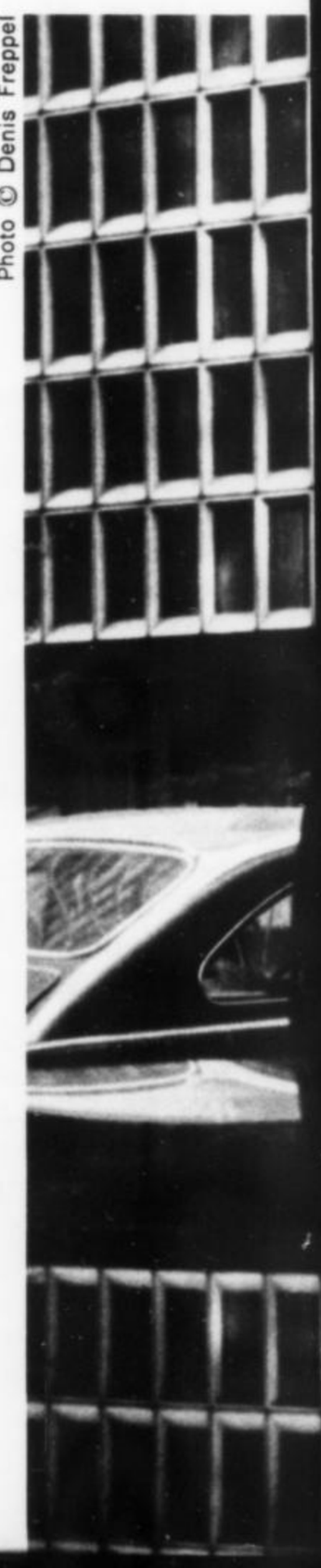

Photo © Denis Freppel

In technically advanced countries, "white collar" workers represent more than one-quarter of the working population in both the public and private sectors of industry and commerce. They participate in a great variety of occupations from office workers to sales assistants, from teachers to waiters. Since its foundation, the ILO has worked for the improvement of their social and professional status, and has elaborated various conventions dealing with working hours and health conditions on the job, to mention only two. The ILO is now carrying out a special study on the effects of automation in offices as well as industry (see also photo caption page 21).

(1) E. G. Liberman : "The rôle of profits in the industrial incentive system of the U.S.S.R., International Labour Review, No. 1, Jan. 1968.

(2) Philippe de Woot: "Pour une Doctrine de l'Entreprise" (Editions du Seuil, Paris, 1968).

purpose of production has usually played a minor rôle in relations between employers and workers.

Without overlooking the need for a fairer distribution of benefits (a prerequisite of which is full acceptance in the factory of mechanisms to defend the workers' interest), should we not also seeks ways of associating all parties more closely with the control of production which would make easier its adaptation to the needs of the community and the demands of a balanced economic and social development, nationally and internationally.

It is surely significant that whereas 50 years ago, in the Preamble to the ILO Constitution, peace was defined in terms of "justice" ("whereas universal and lasting peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice"), nowadays it is increasingly defined in terms of "development".

There is nothing surprising about this, for in most countries development is clearly the fundamental prerequisite of justice. As a key factor in development, industries have therefore a new and worthwhile task to accomplish: the promotion of greater justice for all. Viewed in this perspective, they are no longer merely the source of profits to be shared out in the fairest way, but also an instrument of progress to be utilized for the benefit of the greatest number and in the interest not of a single nation but of the whole world.

This new rôle of industry is bound to affect the pattern of relations between all those engaged in production. It will still be necessary, of course, to make sure that production benefits are distributed fairly, and a key task for labour representatives will be to see, through labour-management agreements, that the interest of working people as regards job security, working conditions and wages are properly safeguarded.

But today, international economic relations are intensifying, common markets are being formed, industries are merging or forging links across frontiers, and throughout the world the needs of developing countries have forced themselves on the conscience of all men, whether statesmen, employers or workers. At such a time it is surely vital for working people to express their views through direct participation in boards of management where production policy is decided.

Such participation should aim not only at protecting the interests of workers in the factories concerned. It should reflect the common interests of all workers so as to give a positive orientation to economic development and lay the foundations for a more just society in which the needs of all can be satisfied.

In countries which are planning their economic and social development, workers already have a voice in the councils where national policies are drawn up. But if this voice is to speak with authority, it should surely be backed up by experience acquired in industry, and particularly in large-scale industrial enterprises.

To put these principles into practice will not be easy. It is clear that new structures and systems will have to be established, new outlooks fostered and a vast enterprise of education and training set in motion. But it would not be surprising if the search for these solutions became a key factor in worker-employer relations between now and end of the century.

Passages taken from the study "Developments in Labour-Management Relations in the Undertaking" by Jean de Givry, published in the January 1969 (Vol. 99, No. 1) issue of the "International Labour Review" (International Labour Office, Geneva).

Photo © Marc Riboud - Magnum

Photo Unesco - Dominique Roger

In most civilizations and throughout history, women were considered to be the intellectual and moral inferior of men and laws relegated them to the status of a perpetual minor. They were expected to devote themselves to having children and to household chores and only rarely were they given a chance to distinguish themselves in the arts, sciences, letters or politics. Although many new vocations have been opened up to them—27 out of every 100 women work outside their homes—working women still face enormous problems to achieve equality of treatment. Their new rôle in society and economic life has still to win wider recognition. But nowadays, in families where women work outside the home, the husband lends a hand more willingly than in the past. Above, a helmeted woman engineer working in a coal and steel complex. Right, a young father whose wife also has a career takes his turn at looking after the baby.

Real and pseudo problems of the working woman

by Pierrette Sartin

THE history of the working woman is pretty much familiar to the specialist but not too well known by the vast general public. While no attempt will be made here to trace this history, I should like to touch on one or two major aspects of the problem as it affects the working woman in the modern world.

Paradoxically, while many of the working woman's real problems are either ignored or shrugged off by governments and others concerned with their status, the pseudo-problems seem to have aroused most debate thereby retarding the real solutions.

The history of the working woman has been a long, drawn-out struggle, often carried on silently and behind the scenes, against prejudice, privilege, vested interests, and force of habit. Despite all his advances, scientific and otherwise, 20th century man has not lost all his cave-man attitudes and socially speaking he still has a long way to go.

I believe there has never been a full, objective analysis made of the working woman's contribution to the economic structure of society, but even in this context it really boils down to a question of ethics—individual and social ethics, the struggle for equality, for the dignity of the individual person and respect for human values as defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and defended for decades by the U.N. agencies, and first of all by the ILO, now celebrating its 50th anniversary.

In our present age of science and super-rationalism, equal rights for all persons regardless of sex or race are still opposed by strong economic forces and age-old notions of male privilege. This opposition is not always openly expressed so that it is not easy to combat. It hides behind indirect statements with an ideological flavour, distorted facts and fictitious evidence which help to fan passions and perpetuate foggy thinking.

Any serious study of the position of the working woman in modern society reveals this picture of prejudice, distorted views, irrational and illogical attitudes.

The fact is that there is not just one problem of the working woman but a whole mosaic of problems, some technical, others moral, social and economic. All of them interlock and cannot be dissociated from the development of modern society as a whole. They demonstrate the great disparity that exists between the extraordinary advances in science and technology and the narrow-minded, cautious conservatism of man's thinking.

The working woman and her place in society have become a sort of geometric focal point where contradictions and half-truths, hasty generalizations and unfounded conclusions are all concentrated in one jumble.

EVEN the expression "working woman" is misleading. Women have always worked from time immemorial, and many city women who stay at home work at least 54 hours a week if they have no children and as much as 77 hours a week if they have three children (1). This has been corroborated recently by two separate studies carried out by Alain Girard and Henri Bastide, both of France.

No social legislation in the world would tolerate such working hours imposed by an employer.

Yet because the work is done in the seclusion of the home, and is unpaid, it is accepted without argument and even encouraged, even though the level of productivity is low and in certain cases of doubtful usefulness.

The phrase "working woman" should therefore be understood as meaning paid work performed outside the home in our analysis of some of the real and pseudo problems involved.

What then is the present situation as regards the working women and how does it differ from that of preceding generations?

In virtually all societies the pattern has been the same, following a course from work in agriculture to the so-called secondary sector of industry, and from industry to the tertiary sector of commerce, office work and services.

Industrialization has created a growing number and variety of jobs suited to an increasing army of women. It has also led to a reduction in heavy manual labour in favour of jobs requiring skill and dexterity.

More and more jobs, however, are now opening up to women in the tertiary sector of commerce and other services.

This increase in the number of working women is not limited to Western countries. In Japan the proportion of women holding jobs has risen 100 per cent in 10 years as compared to only a 40 per cent rise for men; in Morocco, radical changes are affecting the mass of the population and one woman out of eight now holds a paid job; in Tunisia, a bold programme launched by President Bourguiba has opened up professional education and training to women; in India, where women have long campaigned for a change in economic policy that recognizes their right to work, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, has come out openly in their support and taken measures to guarantee them increased educational opportunities as a first step in their liberation.

In Latin America, the big birth rate plus the often high percentage of illegitimate children, obliges many women to look for work. It is to be hoped that the economic and social development of this region will go hand in hand with a real programme of professional training for Latin American women.

In certain Asian and African countries, the position of women has risen sharply and in recent years they have even reached the top of the political ladder in contrast with Western countries where women nevertheless have long been put on a pedestal.

The improvement of the status of women, despite the great differences obtaining in different countries, is thus a world-wide phenomenon that cannot be denied. This trend is bound to continue. But for the moment it affects only a tiny minority of women.

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PIERRETTE SARTIN *is a French sociologist teaching at Laval University, Quebec (Canada). She has written widely on the social status of women and industrial employment. Her latest book "La Femme Libérée?" has just appeared (Editions Stock, Paris, 1969). Among her other works: "La Promotion des Femmes" (Editions Hachette, Paris, 1962) and "La Fatigue Industrielle" (Editions Sadep, Paris, 1960).*

(1) Corresponding figures for rural women are 63 and 82 hours a week respectively, and as high as 80 and 87 hours for farmers' wives.

Cutting off one's No's to spite one's case

In the Moslem countries of Africa and Asia, women who occupy posts habitually held by men are the exception; ingrained tradition still keeps the great majority in a position of inferiority or subordination.

So, contrary to the generally held belief, women have not invaded the labour market. Although precise figures are not available for a comparative study it can be said that depending on the country and the social system, women now represent 20 to 30 per cent of the world's total labour force with peaks of about 40 per cent in the socialist countries.

Even when one person out of three happens to be a woman this does not constitute an "invasion" or a threat to the stability of the labour market. But it is enough (or at least should be) to convince any State to take practical steps—as opposed to mere lip service—to solve the economic and social problems of those women who want to be wives and mothers and at the same time help increase their family income. Or to put it another way, who at the same time want to put their knowledge and skills at the service of their community.

The biggest change that has taken place in recent years in the world picture of the working woman is the extraordinary increase of married women and mothers in employment in all countries and the fact that women who do not have to do so for financial reasons are flocking into professional and other work.

Here, the example of what has been taking place in Canada is worth special mention. All over Canada, a formidable number of women with large family responsibilities are going back to school or college, attending courses and taking degrees in order to prepare themselves for jobs and professions. The Canadian Government has encouraged this movement by offering special retraining courses and other adult education programmes at hours of the day or evening particularly geared to a woman's family obligations. This is an experiment that certainly deserves attention in other countries where it could well inspire similar efforts.

The tremendous influx of middle-class women into professional life has brought with it a marked change in attitude to work itself: it has ceased to be regarded as an inescapable necessity and has become a self-chosen activity freely and willingly accepted. As it gradually shed its coercive character the stigma formerly attached to it by years of exploitation slowly vanished.

Despite this, however, there is still an aura of guilt attached by the average man in the street to mothers of children who decide to take a paid job. But by the same token the mother who stays at home now also feels an element of guilt because the work she does is no longer fully appreciated.

So we see that one of the first results of the entry of women into professional life has been to create a climate of uneasiness in both groups which society is doing little to overcome. By its wishy-washy attitude it is even making matters worse.

But the married working woman, less harried as she is by financial pressures and better armed because of her education and professional background to defend herself, has come to understand the real dimensions of the problem. She has furthermore given ample proof (and this is not the least of her many achievements) that women are not intellectually inferior to men, and that if given half the chance men have from the start—which usually they aren't—women can be as career-minded as men are and lacking in none of their skills and ability for executive and managerial posts.

WHAT also characterizes the working woman in modern society is not only that she is paid for her work but that the work she does is becoming increasingly independent of her husband's or father's. For centuries, a wife was little more than her husband's unpaid helper performing all his minor jobs and chores for him. Even today certain vocational guidance counsellors still seem to assume that the wife who can help her husband in his own work and remains, as it were, in his shadow, achieves the best compromise between her desire to work and the interests of the household. But fewer and fewer women are now prepared to accept such an unrealistic solution.

The subject of unequal pay for men and women is a whole story in itself and entire books have been written about it. The picture that emerges shows how difficult it is to get reality to coincide with noble principles.

The ILO has been wrestling with this problem for years, and it came to the forefront of debate in Europe when the European Common Market went into effect several years ago. In five out of the six Common Market countries (Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Fed. Rep. of Germany and Italy) wage differences between men and women have been partially reduced. But in France, the first of the Six to try to apply the principle of equal pay, the gap has actually widened from 6.8 per cent to over 10 per cent in most sectors of the nation's economy.

One also finds that the higher one goes in the echelons of responsibility the greater the inequalities. French women's salaries in the middle executive echelons are 35.7 per cent lower than men's; and in the U.S. up to a few years ago, the difference was as high as 50 to 60 per cent.

While the principle of equal pay for women is now no longer questioned, it is by no stretch of the imagination equally applied. To make matters worse, women's salaries have fallen so far behind men's in certain industries with a high percentage of female employees that a realignment is now virtually out of the question except by gradual stages.

And yet many employers expect a woman candidate to hold more degrees and other qualifications than a man applying for the same position.

Notwithstanding their qualifications and their increasingly recognized professional capacities, women are still being sidetracked into subordinate posts with little or no chances for advancement. In Western countries, the executive echelons in private industry and commerce are almost entirely taken over by men. And this is equally true of banking, even in the United States where at least 76 per cent of the country's monetary assets are in the hands of women.

In the U.S.S.R. the change in the position of the working women has been particularly interesting to follow for women have been able to take their place in almost every sector of the national economy. This has been due to two chief reasons: on the one hand, the equalitarian social system developed in that country; on the other, the extremely high percentage of women available for work.

Nevertheless, progress did not come without a fight, for at one period when the principle of the equality of both sexes was too narrowly applied certain injustices to women followed. As a result, protective laws were reintroduced as of 1956 exempting women from physically strenuous jobs and granting them a number of advantages including retirement at the age of 55, a six-hour working day on certain types of jobs, etc.

More interesting than these protective laws, which in the U.S.S.R. as in every other country have their drawbacks, are the recent changes in the working pattern of the active population. This shows a shift towards the tertiary sectors of commerce and services, and in industry, a reduction in the number of women working in strenuous, badly paid jobs in favour of the mechanized industries.

Since 1962, moreover, 54 per cent of the jobs requiring a secondary or university education with specialization in a particular field, are filled by women. Compared to the negligible number of women engineers in Western countries, one engineer in three in the Soviet Union is a woman.

But whereas in 1962 almost half the working population of the U.S.S.R. (48 per cent) was made up of women, they made up only 12 per cent of industrial management and 28 per cent of the top administrative posts.

Even in the U.S.S.R., then, the advances of women remain limited.

Despite all the principles and recommendations adopted by countries all over the world, one fact stands out as a general rule: as soon as an occupation depreciates in status the gates are opened up wide to women. We must face the fact that women are merely tolerated in the world of employment. They slip in through half-opened doors to fill the jobs scorned by men either because they are badly paid, monotonous or unpleasant . . . or because they are too difficult to perform.

The magistracy in France is a good case in point: women were excluded until such time as the salaries were considered too low for men. Medical doctors, librarians and jurists in the U.S.S.R. are other instances, these professions being part of the civil service were less well paid than productive jobs in industry.

I could quote many other examples from many other countries.

We also find that once an industry's personnel becomes predominantly feminine working conditions begin to deteriorate and salaries drop.

Legislation is highly useful, but it can only put an end to the most crying abuses; it cannot solve all the problems. That is why women have found it necessary to join forces and form their own groups within trade unions and professional organizations.

As for the criticism that working women are prone to absenteeism and instability and are likely to break off their careers for marriage or other reasons, these allegations are lame pretexts that do not stand up to serious investigation. It would be fairly simple to dispose of them if it were admitted that women, just as much as men, have the right and indeed the duty to work, and if, instead of protective measures which perpetuate discrimination, girls were given educational opportunities on a same footing as boys, conceived in terms of future careers, not just in terms of marriage.

This of course would require a total rethinking and revamping of our economy so that it is planned for the individual and not as an end in itself or for society. It would also require a new approach in which social investment was no longer considered an unproductive investment—which in fact it is not.

But in the final analysis, behind all the barriers and impediments raised against the working women lurks man's unavowed and unadmitted fear of losing his job and the no less vivid fear of competition.

During the Great Depression of the 1930s, the International Labour Organization had already come to grips with this problem, and an article written by Marguerite Thibert in 1933 neatly disposed of all the arguments usually advanced on the subject (1). Despite the many years that have elapsed, this study still remains perfectly valid today; but it seems to be unknown to those responsible for the promotion of labour.

As Marguerite Thibert reported, all the studies carried out by the ILO in the United States, Austria and Germany showed that to eliminate women from jobs was like sweeping the problem under the carpet, solving nothing. Realistic solutions had to be sought elsewhere, by creating new jobs and job opportunities and not by putting those persons who had jobs out of work.

As strong as the fear of unemployment is the fear of competition. For women are less of a real threat to men's employment per se than a threat to their promotion and their traditional notion of masculine superiority (2).

If we are to be totally frank we cannot fail to recognize that in a great number of cases men try their hardest to cut the ground from under women who want to work. They belittle their professional ability, glorify their rôle as wives and mothers, and use various other means to undermine their chances of pursuing a career.

But by doing so they defeat their own purpose, for they virtually compel women thereby to put their best foot forward to prove how good they really are, and this in turn forces men to vie with them in order try to catch up so that they can save their reputations . . . or even their jobs. As a matter of fact, the only persons who really benefit from this rivalry are their employers.

Society, rather than the men and women directly involved, bears the basic responsibility for these contradictions and absurdities. Modern society has virtually made a fetish of "efficiency" and "output", yet it deliberately accepts to deprive itself of the enormous storehouse of intelligence, devotion, energy and creative imagination, not to speak of good

Photo © APN - I. Chaguine

Nowadays, women are doing many jobs long considered "for men only". This smiling Soviet mariner, Captain Anna Shchetinina, is the first woman in the world to command a ship sailing the seven seas.

(1) *Marguerite THIBERT :* The Economic Depression and the Employment of Women. *International Labour Review, Vol XXVII, No. 4, April and No. 5, May 1933.*

(2) *Pierrette SARTIN :* La Femme Libérée ?, *p. 151, Editions Stock 1968 and* Les Cadres et l'Intelligence, *p. 192, Editions Hachette 1968.*

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common sense that women represent. And this at a time when we are heading toward a broader policy of co-operation and participation where the working woman's understanding, sense of justice and humanity as well as her practical realism are needed by society more than ever before.

By placing so many obstacles in the path of the working woman the nations of the world have accepted with a surprising nonchalance the prospect of increasing the unproductive element in their communities. This will only magnify the danger that already exists of our destroying the balance between the active population and the total population at a time when the world is searching for a new type of society and both the developing countries and the highly industrialized ones must face the important issues of hunger and poverty, war, disease, illiteracy and exploding populations.

Today, with our world in the throes of fundamental transformations, with scientific advances offering a choice of greater well-being or destruction, when all our action, ingenuity and resolve are needed to solve so many new problems, why do we still have to put up with silly, child-like attitudes and social pressures that perpetuate outmoded ways and run counter to the needs of the modern couple and family?

Today, professional training for women is still far from adequate, and when it is made available career opportunities are often sorely lacking. In many countries a large proportion of women have little or no chance to put the costly education they receive to good use. In Belgium, to cite only one example, 43 per cent of women graduates make no professional use of their degrees. Even post-graduate and special training courses often lead nowhere since the hurdles for entering or returning to professional work are in many cases more psychological than technical. This ridiculous wastage could be avoided at infinitely less cost if the measures advocated by women were accepted once and for all so as to allow women to satisfy both their desire for a family and a career.

Women have often been called the custodians of civilization, culture and the home, and they cannot be that in the isolated framework of the family shell, but only by emerging as full-fledged members of society. Having a job is just one of the ways of achieving such integration but it best answers the needs of the nations of today.

Human solidarity is no longer just a family or national matter; it is fast developing as an international, world-wide reality. The new humanism of tomorrow will be built on this universal human solidarity and a new awareness of the dignity of the individual. This means that there is now a greater need than ever for men and women to join forces so that the children of tomorrow can see a better world and a civilization really worthy of the name.

Photo © Paul Almasy, Paris

FAIR DEAL FOR MIGRANT WORKERS

In 1967, well over five million migrant workers had left their home countries and found employment in Western European nations alone. The rising number of these migrant workers now poses many problems which the host countries, with the help of the ILO, are trying to solve. These problems are aggravated by language barriers and unfamiliarity with local conditions. In 1962, an ILO convention specified that migrant workers should have the same rights to social security as citizens of host countries, thus reinforcing a 1949 convention calling on governments to place immigrants on the same footing as their own nationals in respect of salaries, working conditions, trade union rights and housing.

THE INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION OF WORKERS

A smouldering issue of our time

by Pieter Kuin

IN recent years the international migration of labour has swelled to enormous proportions. This is particularly true of continental Europe, where in 1964 alone over a million workers legally crossed the various frontiers. At the same time the volume of illegal immigration is also tending to increase as the authorities endeavour to channel and limit the flow of migrant workers.

This action on the part of the authorities is an indication of the growing anxiety about massive migration; in some countries aliens now constitute a considerable slice of the labour force —in Switzerland the figure is already as high as 30 per cent—and every year workers flock across the frontiers of France, Switzerland and the Federal Republic of Germany in their hundreds of thousands.

The prevalence in the press and other mass communication media of terms like *Uberfremdung*, "inundation by foreigners," also bears ample witness to this anxiety. Although immigration in countries like Holland and Belgium has not yet reached alarming proportions, people there are already becoming disturbed about it; they are all the more worried in view of the difficulties foreigners have in becoming integrated and the desperate shortage of housing for their own nationals.

The list of problems created by the mass movement of workers is long and dismal. It includes hardships endured by the workers themselves, who have to spend a large proportion of their wages on rent (often sharing tiny rooms) and other personal necessities; wives and fiancées left behind; engaged couples and newlyweds unable to find a home while employers provide foreign workers with accommodation.

Are all these difficulties really unavoidable? Can we find no better synthesis of economic and social needs? Are we not standing idly by while some territories' economic growth remains stunted and others enjoy a growth rate far beyond their real potential? Rather than uproot so many people from their familiar surroundings and resettle them in areas with overcrowding problems of their own, would it not be better to disperse economic activity?

It is because of the economic disparity between different parts of the world that countless people are having to choose between unemployment or a very low-paid job at home and facing up to the drawbacks of migrating to one of the larger centres of industry. It would of course be preferable to disperse economic activity, but is it feasible?

The first questions that present themselves are inevitably: What causes this disparity? And how does it manage to survive and even to increase? Is there no mechanism for ensuring a balanced pattern? Were not our school text-books on economics full of explanations of equilibrium showing how any disturbance produces a pressure that counteracts it? Why does this mechanism fail to operate? Why does production not flow to where there is plenty of space, labour and—once people start earning—demand, until economic activity is spread more evenly? There are various factors and forces that act against such equilibrium . . .

Is there any hope at all for areas where economic development has lagged behind? Must the disparities continue to grow? For the immediate future this seems inevitable, but the long-range prospects are not quite so gloomy.

The continued accumulation of activity in one area ultimately causes congestion and releases dispersive pressures. Typical examples are the shortage of housing and office space, labour shortages, traffic congestion, long distances between home and work, failure of public services to keep up with the rapid growth of demand, lack of unspoiled countryside and rec-

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PIETER KUIN *was formerly Professor of Economics and Industrial Organization at the Free University of Amsterdam, Netherlands. Both he and Prof. Samuel Parmar (see article page 32) discuss the problems of the migratory worker, but approach the subject from quite different viewpoints. Their texts are based on studies they originally wrote for "Migration Today" (No. 6, May 1966), a bulletin published by the Secretariat for Migration, Division of Inter-Church Aid, Refugee and World Service, World Council of Churches, Switzerland.*

Real advantages, to be sure, but...

reational facilities, waiting lists and overcrowding in schools and hospitals, and a tendency for the individual to lose his identity among the masses and become frustrated.

All these factors will make for a more even distribution of economic activity and a drift towards areas now at a low economic ebb, but they alone will not be enough. If development is to proceed along the right lines before it is too late there must be plenty of realistic planning, great discernment in administration and willingness on the part of the authorities and industry to co-operate at national and international levels.

Some may feel that long-range solutions are all very well, but do not help people who are in great distress now. They may perhaps wonder whether appropriate redeployment of industry might not bring more immediate relief, and whether it is not time to start taking the work to the people instead of attracting the people to the work.

This can be achieved on a modest scale if the projects chosen are kept within the range of present possibilities. Over-ambitious projects for which the necessary infrastructure and other facilities are not available can only result in loss and disappointment. We must be content with small, sensibly planned and well-executed projects employing a fair-sized labour force. A well-run local handicrafts industry, for instance, might with good marketing find a ready market in more advanced countries, particularly if the products were not too heavy or bulky...

THERE are some steps which can be taken to bring about a more even distribution of economic activity, to raise prosperity and employment levels in areas that are at present lagging behind. But the opportunities are only limited and we should beware of growing too optimistic, particularly regarding short-term improvements.

When migration is banned or restricted, even with the aim of eradicating the resulting evils, the effect is to deprive people in the less developed areas of potential employment and income and to cut back production in prosperous regions without any corresponding increase elsewhere. For years to come, therefore, we shall have to rely on workers migrating from one district or country to another.

However evenly economic activity is distributed throughout the world, there could never be complete affinity between the industries located in a given place and the type and volume of skills possessed by the local inhabitants. If we are to safeguard a man's right to settle where his talents will best benefit himself and society, therefore, the opportunity for migration must always remain open.

The less developed areas, in particular, have much to gain from migration. Their future depends to a considerable extent on the workers who return home, bringing with them knowledge of new processes and techniques, of social and political life and how they are organized in more advanced areas.

It is for reasons such as these that recent economic and social thinking and legislation has laid much stress on the free movement of labour. The Treaty of Rome, for instance, which set up the European Economic Community, institutes a common market for labour as well as for capital and commodities.

We must therefore conclude, despite all the difficulties and hardships caused by the mass movement of workers, that we are right to remove barriers to migration. In accepting migration, however, we do not have to accept its evils along with it.

Migration undeniably can bring direct economic rewards, not to mention other advantages like the satisfaction of working and the new experiences that broaden the workers' outlook and enable him to live a fuller life when he returns to his homeland.

More often than not, however, he has to contend with hardship and suffering. However poor a man is, however miserable his social position, leaving his homeland means losing its protection, its familiar surroundings, the conditions he knows and understands. Separation from wife, children, parents and other relatives is a serious matter. In a foreign country their absence will be deeply felt and there is a risk of loneliness, loss of human contacts or mixing with the wrong people. Quite rightly the dividing of families is looked upon as the greatest drawback to migration, but if the family is allowed to join the worker this causes him and the host community additional difficulties.

In many cases migration brings with it a loss of status. It is widely believed in the host countries that all immigrants come from the lowest strata of society, people with no status or skills in their own countries. This is by no means always the case, for many independant farmers and craftsmen are forced by the poverty and backwardness of their own region to go elsewhere and take unskilled jobs that nobody else wants to do.

Add to this the often unwelcoming and even hostile attitude of people in the host country, the lack of accommodation, high prices and rents, exploitation of the newcomers' unfamiliarity with local conditions and the barriers of language and culture, and the dismal picture is complete except for one item: insecurity and the unlikelihood of improvement. A man will put up with a great deal if he is not constantly threatened by some major disaster like being sacked from his job or turned out of his room at a moment's notice, and if he can reasonably expect things to improve. All too often, however, the immigrant has much less security than other workers. In factory and boarding house he is the last to be accepted and the first to be got rid of. How long will he be allowed to stay in the foreign country? If he can bring his family over, what are the chances of settling permanently? What should he do after a period of temporary residence? What will the situation be in his homeland then? Many questions and no answers.

Fear. Suspicion. Little hope for the future. Sometimes it all becomes too much for him and he suffers a mental or moral breakdown. Who can be surprised? Who can blame him? But who is there to understand and help? True, many kind and able people do a tremendous amount of good work in the sphere of social welfare, but something more is necessary if the existing problems are to be solved and additional evils prevented.

IF the migrant worker has his problems, so have others: relatives left behind, governments, local authorities, employers, trade union leaders and the general public in the host country. For solutions they are all dependent on one another. How long the worker will stay in the foreign country, for instance, depends on:

- his employer, who in turn must know whether he can count on foreign labour and for how long;
- the government of the host country, which is only likely to renew work permits if there is still a shortage of labour;
- economic development back home; planning for this calls for some knowledge of the numbers and skills of emigrant workers who intend to return.

Any realistic solution requires co-operation and consultation between the parties right from the outset. The failure to realize this has led to the social difficulties we are now facing. When the labour force in the developed countries was insufficient for the total production plans, foreign labour was called in to fill the gap. This was often presented as a purely temporary measure and is still viewed in this light by many people.

Far from disappearing as the years went by, however, the foreign labour force has mushroomed. It is hard now

to see how it can ever be superseded by local labour. Where are the local workers to take over the jobs? And who would want the jobs anyway? Things have now got to the stage where many countries have a new low-paid proletariat doing the jobs nobody else wants.

This time the dividing line is not just between social classes but between ethnic groups as well, and this raises grave social problems. They can only be avoided by taking timely and appropriate measures to bring about the economic, social and cultural assimilation of workers who are staying permanently or for a long period. Unless they are encouraged to adopt the language, way of life and mental attitudes of their adopted land, and to share in the rights and duties of native citizens, they are in danger of becoming displaced persons for the rest of their lives.

Then there are the substantial numbers of young people who go abroad to work for a few years before settling down back home with the money they have saved and the experience they have gained. They too need to be looked after. If in the country where they find work their fellow-countrymen have already formed a new ethnic proletariat, the young newcomers are liable to be drawn into it. Instead of new skills they may acquire habits and ways of life that make their return to a better life at home difficult or even impossible.

Another drawback confronting young migrants is that they may receive thorough training in some trade or occupation which is unknown in their own district. This can happen even within the borders of one country. The Calabrian who finds work in northern Italy on the assembly line of a car factory or at the control panel of a chemical plant may on his return home have difficulty in settling down to making leather bags or canning fish. In any case he will be used to the better terms of employment and greater spending power of the north.

In cross-frontier migration this can be an even greater problem. We must therefore think in social, economic and technological terms and be prepared for extensive study and consultation at an international level. International organizations might be able to make a valuable contribution here. The European Economic Community's plans with regard to implementing Article 50 of the Rome Treaty ("Member States shall under a common programme, encourage the exchange of young workers") may provide a useful framework...

There is a lot of talk these days about the need for social planning as a complement to economic planning. If there is any field where this teaching needs to be applied it is the field of migration. Without a carefully devised plan of campaign we shall inevitably be swamped by a flood of social problems, conflicts and all the suffering they engender.

Is there still any prospect of channelling the flow in the right direction? Probably there is, but there is one major obstacle, the same one which started the whole process: the lack of qualified people. It is all very well to devise jobs, to plan what should be done and how, but who is actually going to do the jobs?

Here we come up against one of the most urgent problems of our time, which confronts industry, government agencies, international organizations and religious bodies: we are running out of human resources. Perhaps this problem lies at the root of many others, including migration.

OVER FIVE MILLION MIGRANT WORKERS IN 8 EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

Although the United Nations has prepared figures on the migration of peoples across frontiers, no up-to-date statistics exist giving a world picture of the migration of workers per se. The table presented here is limited to migrant workers in eight European countries in 1967 and is based on a fuller study prepared by the Churches Committee on Migrant Workers in Western Europe. Establishing statistics on migrant workers is fraught with difficulties since the definition and classification of what a migrant worker is differs widely from country to country. This table is therefore an approximation and publication here is not to be taken as official endorsement by the U.N. or its Agencies.

HOST COUNTRY	AUSTRIA	FRANCE	FED. REP. OF GERMANY	SWITZERLAND	BELGIUM	NETHERLANDS	SWEDEN	U.K.	Total
Country of origin									
Europe:									
Greece	380	10,000**	140,310	8,000	6,400	2,050	5,920	4,000*	177,060
Italy	1,430	700,000	266,800	510,000	68,160	7,500	5,420	35,000	1,594,310
Malta	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	33,000	33,000
Portugal	—	300,000	17,800	—	2,110	2,350	—	4,000*	326,260
Spain	350	640,120	118,030	81,000	25,680	13,700	3,190	30,000	912,070
Yugoslavia	45,480	40,000	97,720	11,000	8,000	1,450	13,420	2,000*	219,070
Middle East:									
Cyprus	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	60,000*	60,000
Turkey	6,500	5,500	131,310	7,000	7,270	10,700	—	1,500*	169,780
Asia:									
Hong Kong	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17,000	17,000
India	—	990	3,070	—	—	—	—	230,000	234,060
Malaysia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	16,000	16,000
Pakistan	—	180	420	—	—	—	—	125,000	125,600
Singapore	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	18,000	18,000
America:									
West Indies	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	445,000	445,000
Africa:									
Algeria	—	600,000	1,480	—	1,710	—	—	—	603,190
Morocco	—	100,000	5,820	—	13,370	12,520	—	—	131,710
Tunisia	—	60,000	760**	700	430	—	—	—	61,890
Total	54,140	2,456,790	783,520	617,700	133,130	50,270	27,950	1,020,500	5,144,000

N.B. — Figures for Belgium comprise only migrant workers registered with the Belgian Social Security.

* 1965 figures.
** 1966 figures.

UNEMPLOYMENT OR EXILE
is there a third choice for the migrant worker?

by Samuel Parmar

THE international movement of labour may denote a mutually advantageous matching of "need" and "ability" between industrialized and less industrialized nations. The former have work but not enough workers; the latter have a surplus labour force but insufficient employment opportunities. Thus through migration it becomes possible for each to help the other, and, in the process help itself. This is, however, a deceptive mutuality as is evident from the complex social and economic problems that have come in the wake of migration.

Labour is generally looked upon only as a factor of production. Its movement tends to be governed by cost and output considerations. This is a purely economic criterion. Movement of labour involves a movement of the labourer as well. The "human" factor becomes important. Consequently a simple input-output calculation is an inadequate criterion. Considerations of social cost should acquire primacy over economic cost.

In his paper on the international migration of labour, Prof. Kuin examines some of these problems and suggests certain lines along which their solution should be sought. He emphasizes the importance of both short-term and long-term measures; the former essentially ameliorative, the latter structural...

I am in general agreement with some of his suggestions, such as the need for social planning; co-operation and consultation between the parties concerned ; a judicious dispersal of economic activity internationally; etc. However, as one looks at the question from the viewpoint of less industrialized nations, there is bound to be some difference in emphasis, and, therefore, in the priorities within a given frame of policy.

International migration of labour has always contained elements of exploitation, with greater gain accruing to the stronger partner, obviously at the cost of the weaker. This is clearly seen in historical migration. It may be less evident in contemporary situations but exists nonetheless.

Migrant workers face a two-pronged disadvantage: economic and socio-political. As they generally come in at the "basement" of the labour hierarchy they start as underdogs in the labour market. They may be the last to come and first to go. Where new technology displaces labour, the incidence of change is more likely to fall on them. Thus in an era of rapidly changing technology they have a high redundancy-quotient.

Social prejudices, narrow nationalist sentiments, antipathy to foreigners, ethnic stances, etc., combine to impose social and political handicaps on this group. These may range from mild disapproval to acute xenophobia and bear a direct correlation to the size and economic importance of the migrant working force.

Therefore, in dealing with problems and prospects of international migration of labour, it is necessary to trace the genesis of most of the problems to the exploitation inherent in the process of migration. Remedial action would then take the form of comprehensive social planning whereby the generators of prejudice and exploitation could be brought under control.

Some of the measures for improving the condition of migrants deal with symptoms and not with causes. It is not enough to provide improved welfare facilities and introduce more "humaneness" in dealings with migrants. This is an important first step. But more important is the need to work for a new climate which would be conducive to greater acceptance and equality of the outsider.

That would mean special efforts to instruct and inform nationals so that prejudices are gradually eroded. So far, there has been insufficient emphasis on this aspect. Measures for improvement are aimed at the migrants. This is as true of private groups and organizations as of governments. To the extent to which the problems of migrants result from their own deficiencies (lack of skills, negative attitudes etc.) such measures will help.

But what about problems for which people and structures in the receiving nations are responsible? Unless efforts are directed towards nationals, those problems will remain even when the migrants have acquired skills and developed more positive attitudes.

Some of the current welfare work with migrant labour appears paternalistic precisely because good-intentioned people have failed to see clearly the responsibility of nationals. Instead of improving matters, such efforts tend to become fresh irritants to migrants who, not unjustifiably, may feel that they are being treated as objects rather than subjects.

PERHAPS a brief analysis is necessary at this point to indicate how migration denotes exploitation. If one looks at the international migration of labour in the perspective of the former slave trade, the picture is clear. Men were reduced to mere means of production in response to the demand for cheap labour for new products like cotton, plantation crops, minerals, etc.

Indentured labour was a step forward from the inhuman system of slavery but it almost invariably represented using cheap labour for the advantage of dominant powers. Even when workers moved from one undeveloped nation to another (India to West Indies, or India to South-East Asia, or India to Africa, etc.), the gains accruing to these countries were less than those to the colonial power which had initiated the movement...

A significant by-product of the process was the emergence of exploitation at new levels. Generally, the migrant workers were more diligent and skilled, and gradually gained economic ascendancy over the easy-going local working force. They became a new class which took advantage of the economic weakness of local people.

Here one can already see the emergence of a sub-proletariat. The prole-

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tariat consisted of the migrants and the sub-proletariat of the nationals. This is in striking contrast to the position in Western Europe today where national workers are the proletariat and migrants the sub-proletariat. The difference is important.

Where nationals are the underdogs their resentment against alien workers (who are economically s t r o n g e r) expresses resistance to exploitation. But where nationals are the stronger group and yet resent alien workers, their attitude has little economic justification and is tantamount to additional exploitation.

Contemporary migration may have less exploitation but is by no means free of it. Labour shortage in industrial nations shows their economic strength; hence their need for more workers flows out of their strength. Existence of unemployed labour in less industrial nations is a sign of their economic weakness; hence migration in search of jobs arises out of their weakness. To say t h a t economic relations stemming from such unequal positions represent mutuality and a fair distribution of benefits would be erroneous.

There is a tendency to emphasize what the migrant workers receive rather than what they contribute. It should not be forgotten that their presence is vital to the growth and stability of industrial nations which absorb them. In fact if migrants are portrayed as beneficiaries who would have been in dire economic distress in their own countries, one could easily rationalize a lack of concern for their welfare. For if they are already much better off than in their national situations are they not enjoying unaccustomed welfare? To some extent the general lack of concern for and resentment against migrants may result from such an approach.

On a nation to nation basis the relatively greater advantage of industrial nations is more evident. Generally, the more enterprising and potentially efficient workers are the first to migrate. A substantial portion of their earning is spent in the country of work, either directly by them or indirectly

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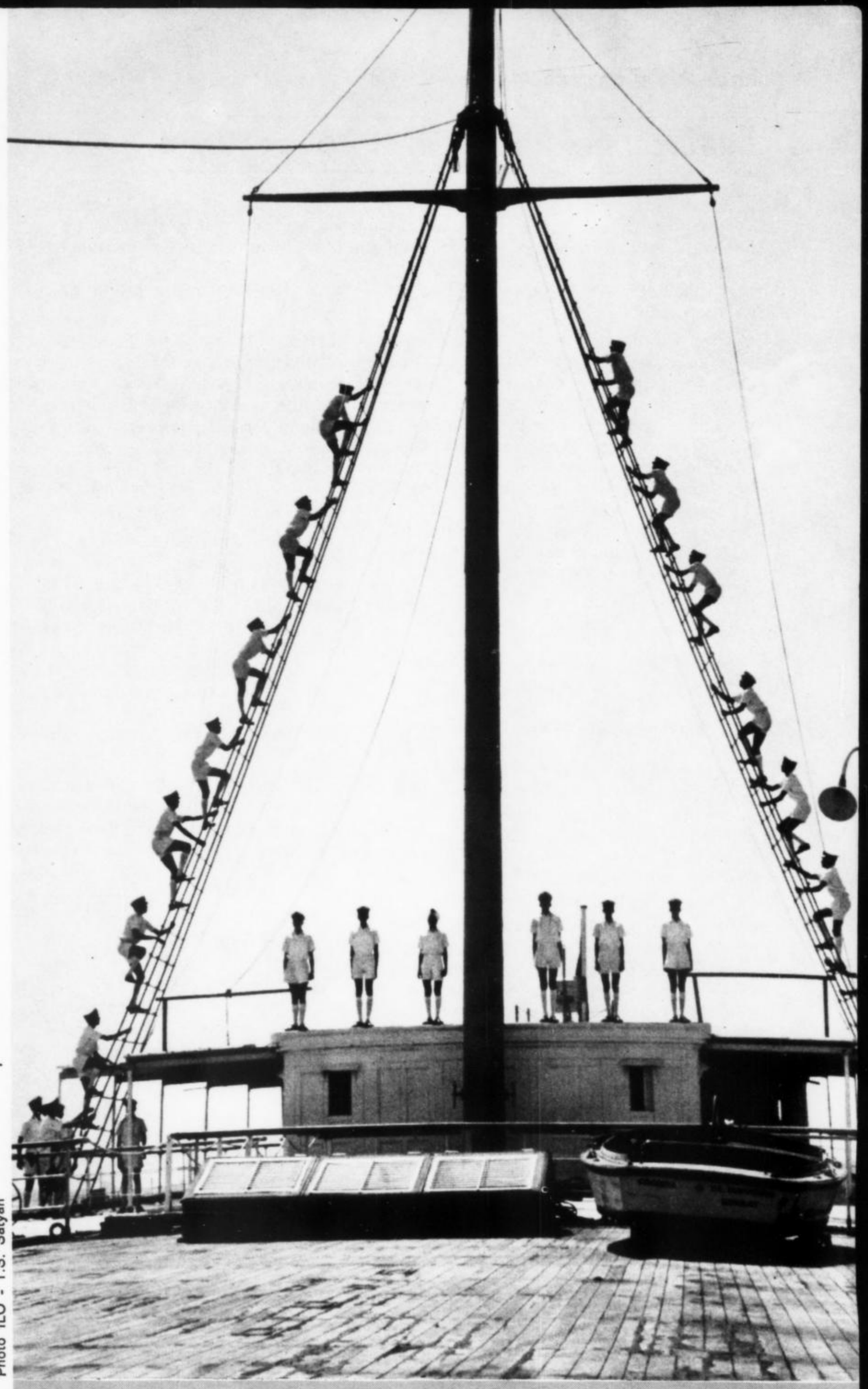

Photo ILO - T.S. Satyan

MODERN MARINERS AND THE ILO

About 90,000 Asian seamen sail in foreign ships but until recently their system of recruitment gave them no guarantee of working conditions and welfare services. To assure minimum standards of employment, official recruiting offices have been established with ILO assistance in the ports of Calcutta, Karachi, Chittagong, Hong Kong and Singapore, and welfare facilities have been considerably expanded. Protecting sailors on foreign ships is only one aspect of the ILO's work on the seven seas. Since it was founded in 1919, it has campaigned to improve working conditions for crews everywhere: in all, 27 conventions and 15 recommendations affecting seamen have been adopted by the ILO, more than for any other group of workers. Every ten years, the maritime session of the International Labour Conference takes place, and in 1970 its agenda will include the modernization of ships, welfare of sailors on board and in port, minimum wages, accident prevention and professional training. Above, sea cadets swarm up the rigging of an Indian training ship.

Last to be hired, first to be fired

by their countries where a part of the earnings are transferred. Thus their contribution to the industrial economy is twofold: to its production and to its demand.

The argument that migrants return to their countries with newly acquired skills and thereby assist the process of economic development, is an overworked argument. Firstly, because a majority of migrants are performing unskilled jobs in the host country and have few opportunities to learn new techniques. What they learn is not enough to make them instruments for a technological break-through when they return to their countries.

DUE to a number of favourable factors such as influence of trade unions, interest of nations in their emigrants, growth of a new world conscience, etc., there is less overt exploitation of workers today, especially in Western industrial nations. But the migrant worker's enhanced sense of identity and self-awareness intensifies the psychological exploitation which he now suffers by being relegated to a sub-proletariat.

Because he is conscious of his rights, because he sees a prosperous working class (consisting of nationals) all around him, and because he senses the resentment and hostility of this class from which he had expected solidarity, he feels a strong sense of deprivation.

It may not be unusual to find the local labour force joining hands with the management to safeguard its security and privileges against the encroachment of a less-skilled group of foreign workers. The idea of workers' solidarity and class homogeneity seems to be fading. It almost seems that economic prosperity in Western Europe is moving the national labour force away from the magnetic field of the proletariat and into that of the petit bourgeois. This strange identity of interest of various national groups as they face the migrants is new...

Welfare measures can better the lot of migrant labour but cannot by themselves eradicate the exploitation which is present under current patterns. More radical structural measures are necessary. Therefore, if Prof. Kuin's suggestions for social planning and inter-governmental co-operation incorporate an "engagement in depth" with the issues, one would fully agree.

But one gets the impression that he has not given sufficient weightage to the element of exploitation and is relying on remedies which deal more with external expressions of the problem than its root causes. He seems to emphasize the mutuality of gain from migration and favours the idea of recognizing migration as a basic human right. This is an oversimplification. The basic human right is protection against exploitation.

Since migration allows exploitation, it may be more realistic to support regulated migration rather than an open door policy. But this regulation will be very different from the kind which various elements of the host nation press for in defence of the privileges of domestic workers. Regulation must be for the weaker section and not for the stronger.

A few comments now about Prof. Kuin's suggestion for a dispersal of economic activity. In the West European situation, especially within the Common Market this sounds workable. Since efforts are being made to remove obstacles to a free movement of factors of production between "the Six" it should be possible for capital and technique to flow to regions with surplus labour...

The most significant reason for the feasibility of "dispersal" within the Common Market is that free movement of goods precedes the free movement of factors of production. An industry can be set up where factor costs (judged in terms of social cost) are lowest and its produce can move to all parts of the Common Market.

Such unhampered sale possibility will allow for full expansion of the industry, growth of subsidiary industries, and economic development of the erstwhile less-developed regions. Since these are the areas of surplus labour, their development will obviate the need for workers to migrate to industrially advanced regions. A more rational allocation of resources and a healthier pattern of specialization and exchange will grow. The crux of the matter is unhampered sale possibility for g o o d s produced in the less-developed region.

Now let us apply this to the international situation, especially as obtains between developed and developing nations. Supposing that capital, technique and entrepreneurial skill go to nations with an unemployed working force, and industries are set up. What about the sale of the produce? Developed nations are notoriously shy of importing semi-processed and manufactured goods from the less industrial nations.

This is the major bottleneck in trade and aid relationships today. Without adequate markets these new industries will not absorb an appreciable portion of unemployed labour. Hence the problem of surplus labour will remain as before...

The growth of export industries (which are "islands of development") in underdeveloped countries was based upon capital, technique and enterprise coming from developed nations. But it should be remembered that these products had an assured market in the investing country. Today a saturation point has been reached in the sales of traditional exports of developing nations. Hence these are not attractive areas for foreign capital and have a limited potential for absorbing surplus labour.

Another problem is that techniques emanating from industrial nations are generally capital intensive and can seldom make a dent on the problem of unemployment in developing nations. On the contrary, such techniques tend to convert disguised unemployment into actual unemployment by attracting many people from villages to industrial centres in the hope of jobs, only to find that there are few jobs, and those mainly for skilled persons. In many new industrial areas of Africa and Asia the existence of a fast growing urban unemployed force has resulted from such tendencies...

If dispersal of economic activity is suggested as a method for increasing employment opportunities in developing nations, it has to be shown that it is development-oriented and not geared to some limited self-interest of developed nations. This calls for an elaborate form of regulation and international economic planning and is, therefore, beyond the competence of private capital and enterprise...

FINALLY, as regards the problem of inadequate human resources or lack of qualified people (which Prof. Kuin stresses in his last paragraph) this is only one of a number of expressions of insufficient development. The history of economic development and industrialization shows that productive processes begin even without a reservoir of qualified people. As the processes make headway, conditions are generated which facilitate the emergence of skilled and qualified people.

If this could happen under the "trial and error" pattern of unplanned economic growth, the prospects of building up human resources is certainly better today. First, because governmental and private bodies can function more responsibly through planned action, and second, because of a better climate of international co-operation.

Our effort should be to overcome negative factors such as narrow nationalism, economic and political self-interest, etc., that come in the way of effective international co-operation. In the context of the problem of migrant labour, this implies taking steps nationally and internationally to eradicate elements of exploitation which are at the root of the problem.

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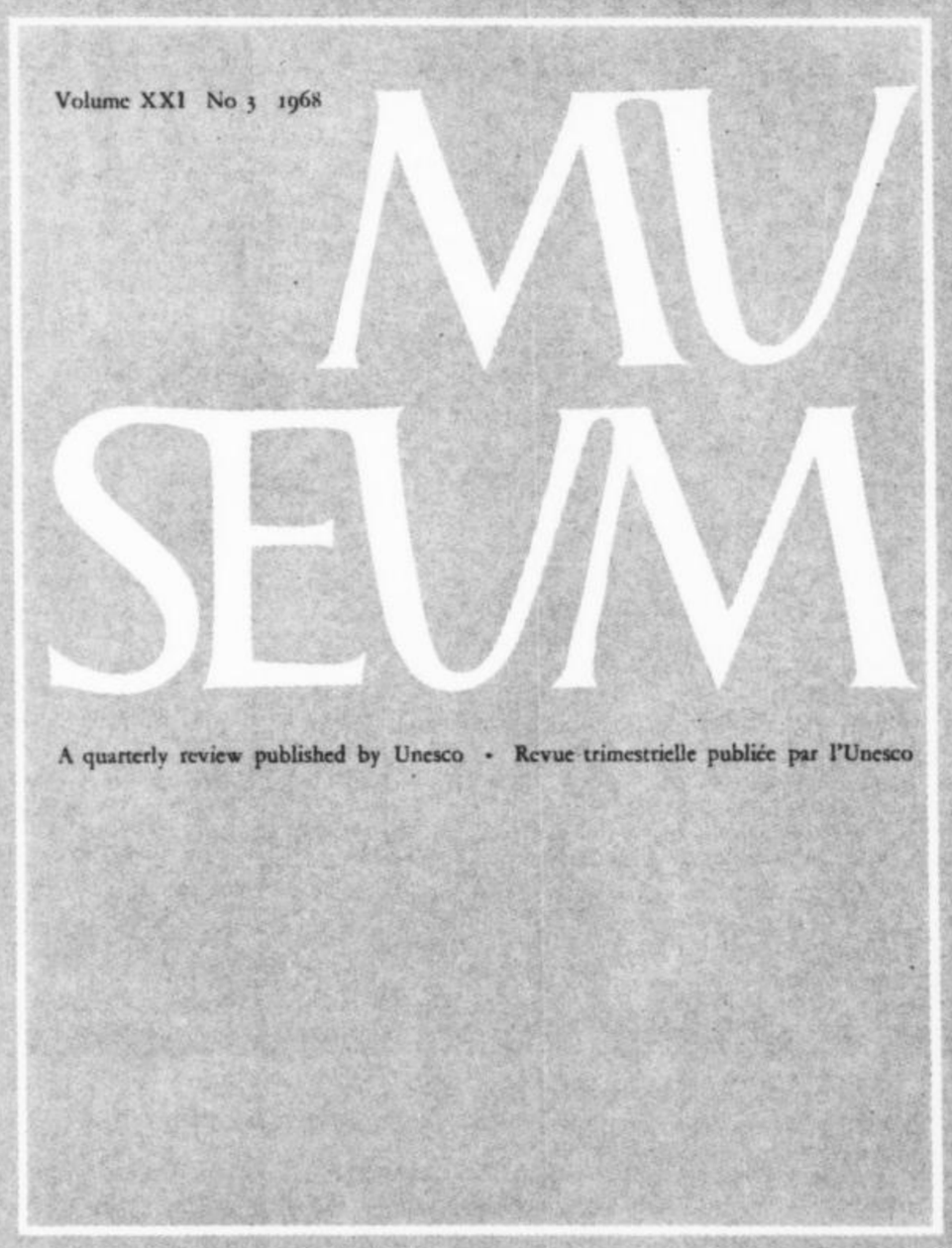

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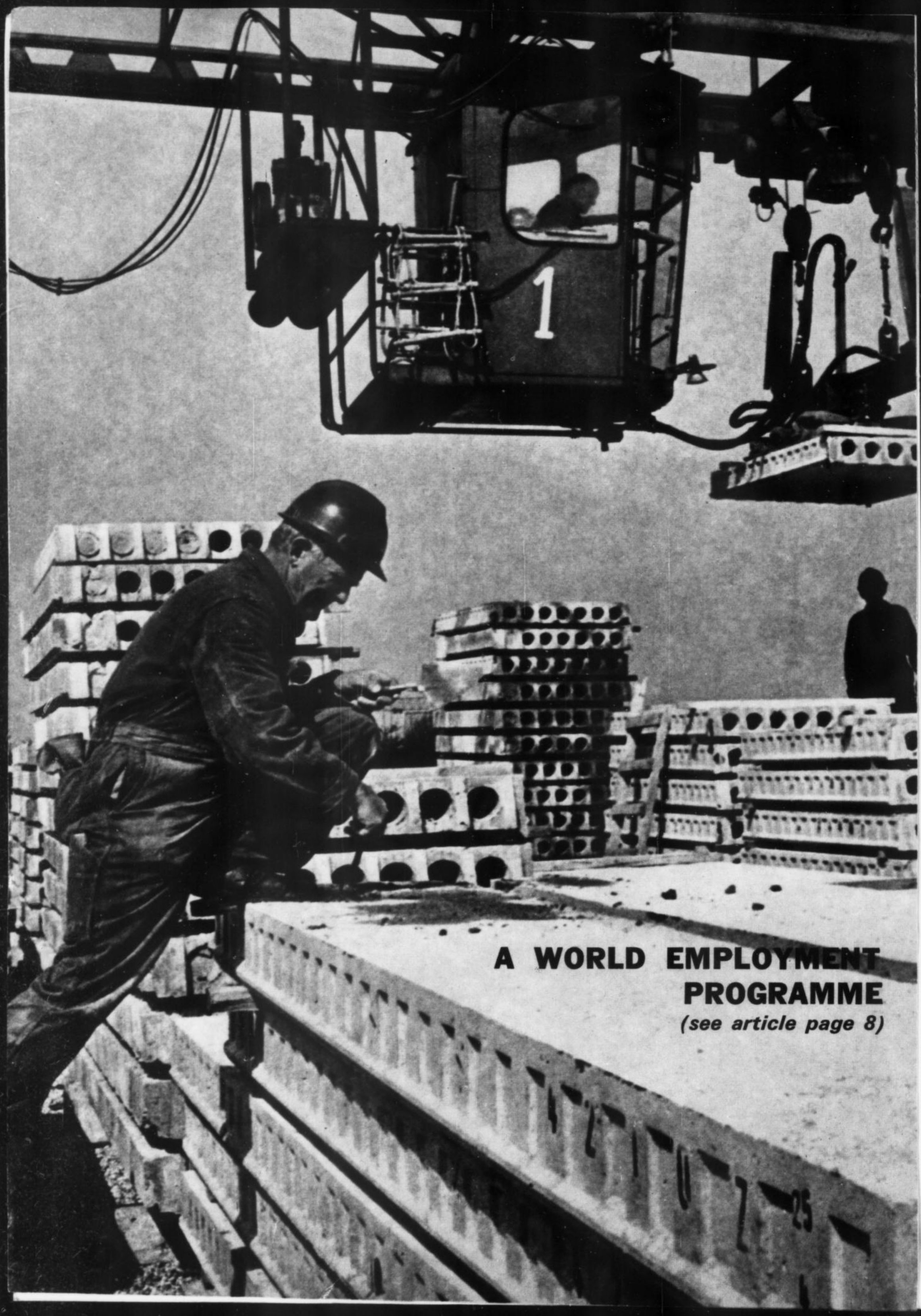

A WORLD EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMME

(see article page 8)